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CATALOGUE OF THE
GREEK AND LATIN PAPYRI
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VOLUME III
THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY TEXTS
(Nos. 457-551)

EDITED BY
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WITH TEN PLATES

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE present volume (the third) of the *Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library* deals with the hitherto unexplored portions of the Rylands collection of papyri.

The history of the collection dates back to the time when Bernard P. Grenfell and his friend, and fellow Queen's man, Arthur S. Hunt, between 1895 and 1907, made a number of joint expeditions to Egypt, where among towns in the Fayûm, at Oxyrhynchus, and elsewhere, they were successful in making a number of most important finds.

It was during these joint expeditions that the nucleus of this collection was formed, at first for the Earl of Crawford, and after the acquisition, in 1901, of the Crawford Manuscripts for the Rylands Library, for the Governors of that institution.

The library's indebtedness to these two young scholars was further increased by their undertaking to prepare a catalogue of the collection. Unfortunately, ill-health and the pressure of other claims upon his time prevented Dr. Grenfell from taking any active part in this work, which consequently devolved upon Dr. Hunt.

The first volume of the resulting catalogue, which dealt with the literary texts, made its appearance in 1911. This was followed in 1915 by the second volume, devoted to documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman period, the preparation and publication of which was carried out by Dr. John Johnson (the present Printer to the University of Oxford), Dr. Victor Martin of Geneva, and Dr. A. S. Hunt.

Arrangements were made for the publication of the remaining portion of the collection, consisting of documents of the Byzantine period, which also included a further batch of fragments acquired in 1920 by Dr. Grenfell. This was to form the third volume of the *Catalogue*, to be undertaken by Dr. Hunt, but by his untimely death in 1934, the library was deprived of his services, even before he had done more than a little preliminary sorting.

It was fortunate that just before his death, Dr. Hunt had arranged with the present editor, Mr. C. H. Roberts, Fellow of St. John's College, to take over the work of preparing for publication the remainder of the Rylands collection, which in addition to the Grenfell-Hunt papyri included a further collection obtained by Dr. Rendel Harris during an enforced sojourn in Egypt, between November 1916 and May 1917, which were at once acquired by the Governors of the Library, although they were wisely left in safe custody in Egypt until such time as they could be transported to England without risk, and that was not possible until 1919.

It was in the process of sorting over the residue of the collection that Mr. Roberts found the Grenfell purchases to contain some extremely interesting papyri, including a number of literary texts, and a fragment of St. John's Gospel, which proved to be the earliest known fragment of the New Testament, and probably the earliest witness to the existence of the Gospel according to St. John.

Of such outstanding importance was this discovery regarded, that its publication in the *Catalogue* was anticipated by making the text available to scholars without delay by means of a special monograph prepared by Mr. Roberts.

Furthermore, in the course of a hurried examination of the Rendel Harris finds, another sensational discovery was made by Mr. Roberts of fragments of a papyrus roll of the Book of Deuteronomy in the Greek Version of the Septuagint, without doubt of the second century B.C., in other words three hundred years earlier than any other known MS. of the Bible in any language. This, also, is dealt with in the present volume of the catalogue, but it has been published in a separate monograph, edited by Mr. Roberts, uniform with the St. John fragment. So many biblical, theological, and literary fragments have been found amongst the unpublished fragments, that the third volume has been devoted exclusively to them, and a fourth volume has been planned in which the non-literary documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods, ranging in date from the third century B.C. to the sixth century A.D., will be dealt with.

For the difficult task of deciphering and describing the papyri dealt with in the following pages the Governors were fortunate in being able to secure the services of so competent a scholar as Mr. Roberts, and they desire to offer to him not only their most grateful thanks, but at the same time to congratulate him upon the masterly way in which he has presented the palaeographical and textual results of his investigations to our readers.

In concluding this note the writer desires on behalf of the Governors to acknowledge their indebtedness to Dr. Johnson, the Printer to the University of Oxford, and his staff for the interest and unremitting care they have bestowed upon the production of this volume.

THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, MANCHESTER.
March, 1938.

HENRY GUPPY.
Librarian.

PREFACE

THE twenty-three years that have elapsed between the publication of this volume and that of its predecessor have seen the accession to the Library of two important collections of papyri, the miscellaneous collection acquired in 1917 and that bought for the Library by the late B. P. Grenfell in 1920. The present volume contains all the theological and literary texts from those collections (with the exception of two which are being held over for Volume IV) besides a few which formed part of the original purchase and were overlooked when Volume I was in preparation; of the ninety-five texts in this volume only three, 457, 458, and 460 have been previously published. The fourth and final volume of the catalogue, work on which is already in progress, will include the early Byzantine archive, originally destined by Hunt for Volume III, together with the documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods acquired in 1917 and 1920.

The provenance of the great majority of the papyri in this volume is uncertain; a number of those purchased in 1920 were said to come either from the Fayûm or from Oxyrhynchus. In each case the date of acquisition is given at the head of the text, since it is hoped that this may provide a clue, however small, whereby other fragments of these texts, if there are any, may be traced. It is worth noting that other fragments of no less than seven texts included in this volume—in some cases actual joins can be established—have found their way into collections as far apart as Warsaw and Milan; and there may well be other coincidences which have escaped my notice.

The contents of this volume are even more heterogeneous than is usually the case with miscellaneous collections of papyri acquired by different persons at different times; in particular, attention may be drawn to the number of Latin texts included. If this volume does not contain more faults both of omission and commission than it does at present, this is due to the kindness of a number of scholars whom I have had the good fortune to consult on matters outside my knowledge and whose generous assistance is acknowledged in connexion with the individual texts. I must, however, express my thanks here to Professor F. de Zulueta, who gave me indispensable assistance with the legal texts, and to Mr. E. Lobel, whom I have frequently consulted on difficulties of interpretation and palaeography; but responsibility for any errors is the editor's alone. To Mr. T. C. Skeat I am indebted for several corrections made in proof, and to the Rylands Librarian for giving me every facility and encouragement in preparing this volume.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

December, 1937.

C. H. ROBERTS.

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE texts contained in this volume are printed as they stand in the originals, except for division of words, addition of capital initials in proper names, expansion of abbreviations and occasional supplements of lacunae. In the case of three texts, **473**, **482**, and **484**, a reconstruction in modern form is given side by side with an exact transcription; accents and punctuation have been inserted in **489** in order to preserve conformity with the London fragment with which it is connected. For the treatment of additions, corrections, and scholia, the reader is referred to the introductions to the separate texts. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [] a deletion, dashes ` ` letters written above the line. Dots within brackets represent approximately the number of letters lost or deleted: dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots under them are to be regarded as doubtful. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to the Rylands papyri in the present or previous volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns. In the critical notes P indicates the papyrus in question.

The principal abbreviations employed are as follows:—

A. P. F. = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*.

B. K. T. = *Berliner Klassikertexte*.

Diegeseis = *Διηγέσεις* di Poemi di Callimaco, by M. Norsa and G. Vitelli.

J. E. A. = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.

J. H. S. = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

P. Amh. = *The Amherst Papyri*, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, Vols. I–II.

P. Cairo Zen. = *Catalogue des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Zenon Papyri*, Vols. I–IV, by C. C. Edgar.

P. Bouriant = *Les Papyrus Bouriant*, by P. Collart.

P. Fay = *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth.

P. Flor. = *Papiri Florentini*, Vols. I and III by G. Vitelli, Vol. II by D. Comparetti.

P. Gen(ève) = *Les Papyrus de Genève*, Vol. I, by J. Nicole.

P. Giss. Bibl. = *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Giessener Universitätsbibliothek*, Parts I–IV, by H. Kling and others.

P. Grenf. = *Greek Papyri*, Series I and II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

P. Harr. = *The Rendel Harris Papyri*, by J. Enoch Powell.

P. Hib. = *The Hibeh Papyri*, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

P. Iand. = *Papyri Iandanae*, by E. Schäfer and others.

P. Klein Form. = *P. Stud. Pal. III and VIII*, by C. Wessely.

P. Lips. = *Griech. Urkunden der Papyrus-Sammlung zu Leipzig*, Vol. I, by L. Mitteis.

P. Lit. Lond. = *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum*, by H. J. M. Milne.

P. Lond. = Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Vols. I-V, by F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell.

P. Lond. Christ. = Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and other Early Christian Papyri, by H. Idris Bell and T. C. Skeat.

P. Mich. = Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection, Vols. I-III, by C. C. Edgar, A. E. R. Boak, and J. G. Winter.

P. Oslo. = Papyri Osloenses, Fasc. I-III, by S. Eitrem and P. Amundsen.

P. Oxy. = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Parts I-XVII, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

P. Petrie = The Flinders Petrie Papyri, Parts I-III, by J. P. Mahaffy and J. G. Smyly.

P. Rain. Lit. = Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien, Griechische Literarische Papyri, Vol. I, by H. Gerstinger.

P. Ross.-Georg. = Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen, Vols. I-V, by G. Zereteli, O. Krueger, and P. Jernstedt.

P. Ryl. = Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Rylands Library, Vols. I-II, by A. S. Hunt, J. de M. Johnson, and V. Martin.

P. S. I. = Papiri della Società Italiana, Vols. I-XI, by G. Vitelli and others.

P. Stud. Pal. = Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, by C. Wessely and others.

P. Tebt. = The Tebtunis Papyri, Parts I-III, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, J. G. Smyly, and E. J. Goodspeed.

P. Varsov. = Papyri Varsovienses, by G. Manteuffel.

P. Würz. = Mitteilungen aus der Würzburger Papyrussammlung, by U. Wilcken.

RE. = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischer Altertumswissenschaft*, edited by G. Wissowa and W. Kroll.

SB. Preuss. Akad. = *Sitzungsberichte der Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Phil.-Hist. Klasse).*

Schubart, *Das Buch* = *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, 2nd ed., by W. Schubart.

Schubart, *Pal.* = *Palaeographie: erster Teil, Griechische Palaeographie*, by W. Schubart.

Schubart, *Pap. Graec. Berol.* = Papyri Graeci Berolinenses, collegit W. Schubart.

Zeitsch. Sav. Stift. = *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte (Römische Abteilung).*

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

458 (p. 3). To the reviews mentioned here should be added the important article by J. Hempel in the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1937, pp. 115–27; on p. 125 he remarks that ‘die in 458 zuerst bezeugte Übersetzung erweist sich nun aber als die Grundlage aller anderer griechischen Zeugen in Dtn.’. Attention should also be drawn to the article of W. F. Albright in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LVI (1937), pp. 146–76, in which he argues that the Nash Hebrew papyrus should be dated in the second century B.C. and in the light of this discusses the text of **458**. He, however, attributes **458** to the second half of the second century B.C.; yet the evidence for a date earlier in the century which was given in the original publication receives confirmation from the fact that **539**, found with **458** and almost certainly later than it, shows an early type of text.

464 (p. 24). Mr. T. C. Skeat has pointed out to me that this fragmentary text is more likely to belong to an astrological work than to an apocryphal gospel, and a re-examination of the papyrus entirely supports his view. The $\overline{\iota\eta}$ may be no more than the numeral 18 (it is not uncommon for lines to be placed over numerals); in l. 4 ζωδιακ[can be read and both κανών (l. 7) and ἀνατολικ. [(l. 11) are more easily explained on this assumption. Unfortunately, it was too late to change the position of **464** in the volume; but it has been indexed with the astronomical and astrological texts.

466 (pp. 28 sqq.). For the following notes on this text I am indebted to Professor Höeg:—

(1) The first of the two hymns Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ is already known and is to be found in the Athos MS., Laura B 32, published in I. Eustratiadis, *Εἱρμολόγιον* (Chennevières-sur-Marne, 1932), as no. 218. Eustratiadis gives the title: Ἀνατολική. [Ποιῆμα Γεωργίου Ἀνατολικοῦ]. This MS. gives only the εἱρμός or initial stanza, and as this is not given in the modern printed Heirmologion, it is difficult to find the other verses of the hymn.

(2) The reading τὴν ὑψηλοτέραν in l. 22—the initial words of the heirmos of B—may be accepted as genuine. The phrase occurs in canon 143 (Eustratiadis, *op. cit.*, ode 8, verse 52) and probably in other hymns too.

(3) p. 32. The reference to St. Theodore Stratelates is an insufficient ground for connecting the papyrus with the church dedicated to him in Arsinoë, since his feast is celebrated by the whole orthodox church on June 8.

(4) p. 35, note to l. 4. δροσίζειν often bears the meaning εἰς δρόσον μεταβάλλειν in connexion with this ode.

(5) p. 35, note to l. 39. This fragment of another hymn may be compared with a κάθισμα ἀναστάσιμον (*Pentekostarion*, p. 145): Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγήγερται | ἡ ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων.

474 (p. 65), gloss on l. 15. Professor de Zulueta suggests that the word preceding *v(er)δ(um)* might be a contracted form of *obligatio*: cf. Ulpian, *ad Edictum XXVI* in *Digest XII*, 1, 9, pr. 1.

535 (p. 176). Mr. E. Lobel has pointed out to me that the words θύεται ἄνδρες at the beginning of l. 4 of this text are a quotation from the *Dithyrambs* of Pindar (frag. 77/78 in the Teubner ed., 66 in the O.C.T.). In consequence the reading Πινδαρικόν (correcting the]δαγικον of the papyrus) may be regarded as certain.

540 (pp. 183 sqq.). It should perhaps have been stated that the notes and corrections relating to the London part of this text have not been reprinted here.

I. THEOLOGICAL TEXTS (GREEK)

457. ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL, xviii.

Acquired in 1920.

8.9 × 5.8 cm.

First half of the second century.

Separately published, with facsimile, as *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester University Press, 1935) and republished, with slight alterations, in *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xx (1936), pp. 45-56; to these the reader is referred for a detailed description of the text and the format, and the evidence for the date of the papyrus. Among reviews and notices may be mentioned those of H. I. Bell (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xxi (1935), pp. 266-7), P. Benoit (*Revue biblique*, 45 (1936), pp. 269-72), A. Merk (*Biblica*, 17 (1936), pp. 99-101), H. Lietzmann (*Zeitschrift für die NT. Wissenschaft*, 34 (1935), p. 285), and G. Ghedini (*Aegyptus*, xv (1935), pp. 425-6).

The fragment is part of a leaf of a papyrus codex and thus conforms to the almost universal rule that works of Christian literature were written in the codex form (see Kenyon, *Books and Readers*, p. 94 sq., P. L. Hedley in *The Church Quarterly Review*, cxviii (1934), p. 227, and the additional evidence in P. Lond. Christ.). A codex written on this scale would have had to consist of 288 leaves or 576 pages to include all four Gospels and, as all the evidence points to the conclusion that at this early period in its history the codex had not reached such dimensions, we may infer that the codex of which 457 is a part contained only St. John's Gospel.¹ The handwriting is good and careful and, while not calligraphic, is not that of an amateur; the scribe employed the diaeresis, but, as far as we can tell, neither breathings nor punctuation. There is no trace of numeration. A calculation of the average number of letters in each line would lead us to suspect that the name Ἰησοῦς was not, as is regularly the case in other Christian MSS., abbreviated, but such calculations may be misleading, and in the absence of further evidence the question whether or not the scribe employed the usual contractions of the *nomina sacra* must remain open.

The importance of so small a fragment depends on the date to which it can be assigned; without recapitulating the evidence quoted in the original publication, it may be said that a date in the first half of the second century is indicated. Among undated papyri it should be compared with P. Lond. Christ. 1, the unknown Gospel in the British Museum, and with Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* 19 (c), a roll of *Iliad IX*, attributed to the close of the first century; and among dated texts, with P. Fay. 110 (A.D. 94) and *New Palaeographical Society*, ii. 98 (P. Lond. 2078), *temp.* Domitian. Deissmann, in an article in the *DAZ* for Dec. 3, 1935, would assign it to the reign of Hadrian, while Wilcken, in an article on

¹ There is no internal evidence to support the view advanced by W. Bauer (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 61 (1936), 358) that the papyrus *may* have contained only a part of the Gospel or an earlier and different version of the Gospel.

the Bremen Papyri in *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 12 (1936), p. 89, remarks that, as far as the palaeography is concerned, it might be contemporary with the Apollonius archive (A.D. 117-120). The resemblance to the hand of P. Lond. Christ. 1 is suggestive, since it is possible that the provenance of both texts is Oxyrhynchus—the parcel in which 457 was included was marked ‘from the Fayûm or Oxyrhynchus’—and thus both texts may have circulated in the same Christian community; if substantiated, this might be of importance for the literary origins of P. Lond. Christ. 1. About the text presented to us by 457 there is little to be said. In one place (l. 9) there appears to be an omission unrecorded by any other MS., and in another place (l. 4) it supports the Vaticanus against the Sinaiticus and the Alexandrinus; as Bell (*loc. cit.*) remarks: ‘In fact this fragment from a codex written within half a century of the composition of the Gospel presents us with the familiar text of our later authorities’.

Recto.

οι ἰουδαιοι ημε[ιν ουκ εξεστιν αποκτειναι]	xviii. 31
ουδενα ἵνα ο λο[γος του ιησου πληρωθη ον ει]	32
πεν σημαινω[ν ποιω θανατω ημελλεν απο]	
θνησκειν ισ[ηλθεν ουν παλιν εις το πραιτω]	33
5 ριον ο π[ιλατος και εφωνησεν τον ιησουν]	
και ειπ[εν αυτω συ ει ο βασιλευς των ιου]	34
[δ]αιω[ν απεκριθη ιησους κτλ.	
.	

Verso.

[εγω εις το]υτο γ[ε]γεννημαι	37
[και <εις τουτο> εληλυθα εις τον κο]σμον ἵνα μαρτυ	
10 [ρησω τη αληθεια πας ο ων] εκ της αληθε[ι]	
[ας ακουει μου της φωνης] λεγει αυτω	38
[ο πιλατος τι εστιν αληθεια κ]αι τουτο	
[ειπων παλιν εξηλθεν προς] τους ιο[ν]	
[δαιους και λεγει αυτοις εγω ουδ]εμι[αν]	
.	

1 l. ἡμῖν. 4 l. εἰσῆλθεν. 5 Or πειλατος: so too in 12.

1-2. It is clear that the scribe did not adopt the common practice, found in P. Lond. Christ. 1, 458 and other texts, of indicating either the beginning or the end of a speech by leaving a small blank space; so we cannot reckon with this in calculating the length of the lines or the size of the page. In l. 1 a diaeresis should perhaps be placed over the final iota of *ιουδαιοι*; the traces are too faint to decide whether this is the case or whether the scribe, as in l. 13, made an iota reaching above the level of the line.

4-5. In placing *πάλιν* before *εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον*, our papyrus agrees with the Vaticanus, the Codex Ephraemi, the supplementary text of the Codex Bezae, some other Gk. MSS. and the Armenian and one of the Syriac versions (also with the text of Westcott and Hort); the reverse order is supported among Gk. MSS. by the Sinaiticus and the Alexandrinus, by the Gothic version and another Syriac version, and is adopted by Tischendorf. But it should be noted that the Sa'idic, 33, 259, and a few other MSS. omit *πάλιν*.

9. If the full text is supplied in this line, we are left with 38 letters to the line in place of the average 29-30; consequently it is fairly certain that our text represents a shorter version. Most probably we should reckon with the omission of the repeated $\epsilon\lambda\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$, perhaps a slip, but more probably a genuine variant, although unsupported by any other MS.

10. The letter after $\alpha\lambda\eta\theta$ seems to have been corrected or erased: possibly we should read $\alpha\lambda\eta\theta[\theta]$, but probably the scribe's pen slipped while he was making the epsilon.

458. DEUTERONOMY, xxiii-xxviii.

Acquired in 1917.

Frag. (a) 10.7 × 4.5 cm.

Second century B.C.

Separately published, with facsimiles, in *Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester University Press, 1936), pp. 9-46, and reprinted in *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xx (1936), pp. 219-45. For a detailed description of the MS., and a discussion of its historical and textual importance, the reader is referred to these publications and also to reviews by H. G. Opitz and H. H. Schaefer (*Zeitschrift für die NT. Wissenschaft*, 35 (1936), pp. 115-7), A. Vaccari (*Biblica*, 17 (1936), pp. 501-4), and P. Katz (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 61 (1936), 340). These fragments of a papyrus roll of Deuteronomy—the only pre-Christian evidence for the text of any part of the O.T.—were recovered from two pieces of mummy cartonnage which, besides small scraps of Greek and Demotic documents, yielded the Homer, 539, and some small unidentified literary texts (496, 499, 501-3); a strip of 539 had actually been wrapped round frag. (b) of 458. The Deuteronomy fragments, scattered among chapters xxiii-xxviii, were found in both pieces of cartonnage; since the original publication the small fragment (e) has been identified by Prof. T. W. Manson as belonging to xxvii. 15.¹

The Deuteronomy papyrus is written in a stylized and formal hand, carefully executed and of considerable elegance; the closest parallels to it are P. Tebt. III. 692 and 697, both probably of the middle of the second century B.C. Further evidence for the date is provided by the documentary hand on the verso of 458, which is characteristic of the late second century, and by the other literary fragments.² Punctuation is only found at the end of a verse (e.g. l. 14), where the point is followed by a considerable blank space; elsewhere the scribe leaves a small space at the end of a group of words and a slightly larger one at the end of a sentence or clause. There are no abbreviations in the extant text; but there is reason for thinking (see note to l. 27) that $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ was left unabbreviated.

The only indication of provenance is to be found in the Demotic scraps in which the name Setwoti = $\Sigma\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$ occurs; the name is very common in the Fayûm and very rare elsewhere. A Fayûmic origin is not in itself at all improbable; we know of several Jewish

¹ In a letter of July 23, 1936; it was independently identified by Katz in the review cited above. This has made it necessary to change the numeration of the fragment and the lines; the fragment in question, now (e), was (f) in the original publication.

² The fact that the Homer papyrus, 539, exhibits an 'eccentric' text makes it improbable that it was written much later than the middle of the century; further, it is likely that the other texts, literary and documentary, yielded by the cartonnage, are contemporary with the verso of 458 rather than with the recto.

settlements in the Fayûm in the Ptolemaic period, and the fact that the scraps of Greek and Demotic documents found with 458 contain no Jewish names might argue for a common provenance from a mixed community of the kind common in the Fayûm.¹

The most notable feature of the text of the papyrus is its divergence from the text of the Vaticanus (B)²; in passages where the reading is disputed there are three agreements with B and fifteen disagreements. With the Washington MS. (Θ), on the other hand, there are eleven agreements, and with the Alexandrinus (A) ten, though, as Vaccari (*loc. cit.*) points out, 458 as a rule only supports A, when the latter gives what is the text of the majority of MSS.; at the same time he points out that, in its rarer readings, it more often agrees with *g* and *n*, two minuscule MSS. representing the Lucianic recension. 458 presents us with four new readings, one of which—*επελθης* in l. 4—deserves consideration on its merits, while another—*καθιει* in l. 19—is closer to the Hebrew than to the rest of the Greek tradition. The general conclusion that the evidence best warrants is, as pointed out by Opitz and Schaeder (*loc. cit.*), that 458 represents an independent text, closer to the Hebrew original, which has greatly influenced the formation of the A text.

(a) 10.7 × 4.5 cm.

σου [και συλλεξεις εν ταις χερσιν στα]	xxiii. 24 (26)
χυσ και δρεπα[νον ου μη επιβαλης επι]	
τον αμη[τον του πλησιον σου εαν]	(25)
δε επελθης εις τον αμπελωνα του]	
5 [πλ]ησιον σου φα[γη σταφυλην οσον]	
[ψυ]χη σου π[λ]ησ[θει] εις δε αγγος]	
[ο]υκ ενβα[λεις εαν δε τις λαβη γυ]	xxiv. 1
[ναι]κα και συνο[ικηση αυτη και εσται]	
[εα]ν μη ευρη χ[αριν εναντιον αυτου]	
10 [οτι] ευρεν εν α[υτη ασχημον πραγμα]	
[και] γραψει αυ[τη βιβλιον αποστα]	
[σι]ου [και δωσει εις τας χειρας αυτης]	
[κ]αι εξαποσ[τελει αυτην εκ της οικιας]	
αυτου* και [απελθουσα γενηται αν]	2
15 [δρι ετε]ρωι [και μισηση αυτην ο α]	3
[νηρ ο εσχ]ατο[s κτλ.]	

(b) 8 × 8.4 cm.

καιον και καταγνωσι[ν του ασεβους]	xxv. 1
[κ]αι εσται εαν αξι[ος η πληγων ο ασε]	2
[βη]s και καθιει αυτον εν[αντιον]	

¹ For a more detailed discussion, see *Two Biblical Papyri*, p. 28 sq.

² But, as J. A. Montgomery (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, lv (1936), p. 310) points out, the disagreements of the papyrus are often with B's unique, or almost unique, errors, i.e. the divergence from the text of B's family is slighter than statistics might suggest.

20 [αυτ]ου και μαστιγωσιν [αυτον εναντι]
 [ον αυ]των κατα την ασεβ[ειαν αυτου]
 [αριθμω]ι τεσσαρακοντα [μαστιγωσου] 3
 [σιν αυτο]ν ου προσθησου[σιν εαν δε]
 [προσθω]σιν μαστιγω[σαι αυτον κτλ.]

(c) 4.9 × 2.3 cm.

25 [τη χηρα και] φαγου[ται εν ταις πο] xxvi. 12
 [λεσιν σου] και ε[μπλησθησονται κτλ.]

(d) 4 × 5.4 cm.

.
 [της φων]ης αυτ[ου] κα[ι κυριος ειλατο] 17, 18
 [σε σημερ]ον γενεσθαι αυτ[ω λαον περι]
 [ουσιον κ]αθαπερ ειπεν φυλα[σσειν πα]
 30 [σας τας εν]τολας αυτου κα[ι ειναι σε] 19
 [υπεραν]ω παντων [τ]ων εθν[ω]ν ως
 [εποιησε]ν σε ονομαστον κ[αι καυχημα]

(e) 1.1 × 2.1 cm.

.
 [επικαταρατος] ανθ[ρωπος οστις ποιη] xxvii. 15
 [σει γλυπτον κ]αι χωνε[υτον βδελυγμα]

(f) 5.7 × 1.8 cm.

35 [τα προβατα σου δε]δομε[να τοις εχθροις] xxviii. 31
 [σου και ουκ εστ]αι σοι ο β[οηθων οι υιοι] 32
 [και αι θυγατε]ρες δεδ[ομεναι εθνει]
 [ετερωι και οι οφ]θαλμοι [σου οψονται]
 [σφακελιζοντες εις] αυτα κα[ι ουκ ισχυ]
 40 [σει η χειρ σου τα εκφορ]ια τη[s γης σου και] 33
 [παντας τους πονους σο]ν φ[αγεται εθνος]
 [ο ουκ επιστασαι κ]αι εσ[η αδικουμενος κτλ.]

Unplaced fragments.

(g) 1.2 × 1.4 cm.

.
] . [.] . [
] . ευρ[

(h) 1.5 × 1.3 cm.

45

].ο.ν[
].ο. ο.ν. [
]. . . [

17 i.e. δι|καιον.

1. This line as it stands is rather longer than the rest: that the *και* was omitted (with *m* and some of the versions) is unlikely, as it is retained in the parallel passage l. 19. One of the cursives, *i**, reads τῇ χειρὶ and this may have been the reading of our text. It is to be noted that in placing στάχυς after ἐν ταῖς χερσίν the papyrus agrees with all the uncials against the Ethiopic and Bohairic versions and Eusebius. But the length of the line makes it very probable that it agrees with *k* and *l* in omitting σου after χερσίν.

2. This line appears to project into the margin more than the others, whereas 3 is inset.

3. In reading ἐπι τον αμητον the papyrus agrees with all MSS. except B, which has ἐπ' ἀμητόν.

4. The reading ἐπελθης, peculiar to the papyrus, is of some interest, since ἐπέρχομαι is the *terminus technicus* in the papyri for *trespassing, making an illegal entrance*, and as such occurs frequently in documents of the Ptolemaic period: whereas εἰσέρχομαι (εἰσέλθης is the reading of all MSS. here) in legal language denotes *to proceed against or make claims against in a court of law*. Thus the reading of our text is interesting evidence of the influence of the ordinary terminology of the period. Vaccari (*loc. cit.*) would prefer the vulgate reading on the ground that ἐπέρχομαι is not found elsewhere in the LXX in this sense.

6. In reading ψυχη our text is supported only by A^a and some cursives, *f l n y*. Subsequently all MSS. (with the exception of *f*, which reads ἐμπλησθῆ) give ἐμπλησθῆναι: πλησθῆναι may have been the reading of the papyrus, but, with the preceding nominative, πλησθείη is more likely. On this passage, Driver writes that the Hebrew is nearer to the text of B than to that of the papyrus, but that the Hebrew infinitive ('thou shalt eat grapes according to thy soul thy being filled') is so awkward that it is generally thought to be a gloss. He suggests that our text may be an attempt to simplify it by substituting a finite verb, much as the Syriac ('until thy soul (is) being satisfied') tries to do.

7. In reading ενβα[λεις, the papyrus agrees with Bgn (ἐμβαλεῖς) and other MSS. against A^aF* and a few cursives.

10. ενρεν: so B and other MSS. (including Θ) against the εὔρηκεν of A^aFMN and a number of cursives.

11. Θ and M, together with some cursives, read γράψη here.

14. It seems probable that the scribe only punctuated at the end of a verse, as here after αυτου; the space between it and the following και is larger than is usual.

19. Here the papyrus has a somewhat remarkable agreement with Θ in its reading ἀσεβής, supported also by a number of minuscules, including *g* and *n*: all other uncials read ἀσεβῶν.

20. Between the *a* and *σ* of μαστιγῶσιν a dot is visible: apparently the scribe wrote ματ, then corrected the *τ* to a *σ*, erasing the left horizontal stroke of the *τ*, and the apparent dot is the remnant of the hook of the original *τ*.

20 sqq. The text of this and of the following lines, now in agreement with AFMNΘ, and now providing new readings of its own, differs so markedly from that of B that before discussing the readings in detail it may be as well to give the text, considerably shorter than ours, supplied by B. Continuing from ὁ ἀσεβῶν, B reads: καθιεύς αὐτὸν ἐναντίον αὐτῶν. ³καὶ ἀριθμῶ τεσσαράκοντα μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτόν, οὐ προσθήσουσιν· ἐὰν δὲ προσθήῃς μαστιγῶσαι κτλ.

(a) In reading και before καθιει(s) the papyrus agrees with AFMN and many cursives against BΘgn.

(b) καθιει is peculiar to the papyrus. The only variants noted to καθιεύς are the καθλσης of *l* and Cyril and the *constituent* (or *-unt*) of the Armenian and Ethiopic versions.

(c) Between the καθιεύς αὐτόν and the ἐναντίον αὐτῶν of B AFMNΘ and the versions insert ἔναντι τῶν κριτῶν καὶ μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτόν. Neither of these texts can have been quite that of the papyrus, but

in sense it is closer to the reading of AFMNΘ. After *εν[αντιον]* it seems best to supply *αυτου* (or *εαυτου*), as suggested by Driver; it is, however, short and *εν[αντιον | του λαου]* would fill the space a little better, but though this phrase is found in Deut. x. 11 the sense is different and there is no support for its presence here: whereas *αυτου* = *αυτου* would correspond to the *των κριτων* of AFMNΘ. For the sense of the papyrus version must be 'for he (*sc.* the judge) shall cast him (the offender) down in his (the judge's) presence'. Both the Hebrew and the Syriac Peshitta provide an interesting parallel to this version (for what follows I am indebted to Driver): in this and the following lines the Peshitta has 'if the guilty be guilty of chastisement, the judge shall cast him down and they shall scourge him according to the due of his folly'. Similarly the text implied by the Hebrew is: *εαν αξιος η πληγων ο ασεβης και καθιει* (or rather *καθήσει*) *αυτον ο κριτης και μαστιγώσει αυτον εναντιον αυτου κατα την ασεβειαν (αυτου) αριθμω τεσσεράκοντα κτλ.* Thus the papyrus, unlike the Hebrew, leaves the subject of *καθιει* unexpressed, but agrees with both Hebrew and Peshitta in placing the verb in the 3rd, not in the 2nd, person singular, while both have a word to correspond to *εν[αντιον αυτου]*. Alternatively, it would be possible to read *και καθιει(s) αυτον εν[αντι του | κριτου]*: but though this would be a little closer to AFMNΘ, it is not safe to assume gratuitous error in the MS.

(d) *μαστιγωσιν* must be a scribal error for *μαστιγώ(σου)σιν*, as it is clear from the other verbs that a future was intended here.

(e) After *μαστιγώ(σου)σιν* (l. 20) the papyrus agrees with AFMNΘ, the versions and most of the cursives, in reading *εναντιον αυτων κατα την ασεβειαν αυτου*; the whole clause is unrepresented in B. It may be noted that the papyrus may well have read *[εναντι αυ]των*—it would suit the space rather better—and that the large space left after *αυ]των* suggests that *κατα την ασεβ[ειαν αυτου]* belongs to the following rather than to the preceding sentence.

(f) In l. 22 the papyrus certainly omitted the *και* before *αριθμωι*, found only in B, where it was probably inserted after the loss of *κατα την ασεβειαν αυτου*.

24. Here again the papyrus agrees with AFMNΘ and other authorities in reading *προσθωσιν* against B's *προσθησ*: consequently I have followed these MSS. in supplying *αυτον* in this line (omitted only by Bg).

It may be noted that the Syriac Peshitta also has 'when they add' and the Hebrew 'he shall not add': the singular verb in the Hebrew is probably due to Massoretic vocalization, as in early unvocalized texts singular and plural forms of the verb were hardly distinguished (Driver).

26. In the supplement I have followed AFMNΘ*gn* and their allies rather than B's *εὐφρανθήσονται*.

27. It is probable that *κυριος* was written in full, i.e. that the scribe did not employ the theological contractions almost universal in later MSS. If he had written *κς* there would be only 24 letters in the line, whereas the average number of letters in a line is 27. Similar calculations in the case of 457 (see *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 18) led to the conclusion that there also *nomina sacra* were written in full. Unfortunately in both cases conclusive proof is lacking; but it looks as though the practice, whatever its origin, only became general in the course of the second century A.D.

28. The omission of *σε* after *γενέσθαι* is of some interest, for while all uncials agree in reading it, it is not in the Hebrew text, which has simply 'to be' (Driver), and is also absent from the Armenian version and the cursives *agkñx** and the texts of Philo and Clement. It is at least evidence that such a reading, which might have been thought to be of comparatively late origin in Greek MSS., is, even if wrong, of considerable antiquity.

29. *σοι* omitted after *ειπεν*: so BΘ*gn*, Sa'idic, Ethiopic.

30. The fact that elsewhere the papyrus consistently follows AFMNΘ*gn* and other MSS. in preferring the longer version makes it very likely that *πασας* (omitted by B) was inserted before *τας εντολας*; it also fills the space better.

35. A new column begins with this fragment. In this column the lines are slightly longer than in preceding columns; the average number of letters to a line is 29.

36. *ο βοηθων*: omitted only by B. The length of the line makes it highly probable that the papyrus omitted *σου* after *νιοι* as it certainly did after *θυγατερες* in l. 37. For this latter omission it has the support of the second corrector of F; for the former there is no other authority. We should expect both to be written or both to be omitted; probably this may be claimed as a new, if unimportant, variant for the papyrus. The length of the line suggests that a *σου* may have been omitted in l. 40 also.

38. Reasons of space as well as the general affinity of the MS. make it fairly probable that the papyrus

read *οψονται* with FGMNΘ*gn* and most of the cursives rather than *βλέψονται* with B al.: it is in any case preferable to the *ἔσονται*—equally suitable as far as the space goes—of A.

39. As usual, the papyrus agrees with all other MSS. against B and reads *καὶ* before *οὐκ ἰσχυσεῖ*.

44. If some part of *ἐνρῶσκω* is to be recognized here, this fragment cannot stand in close relation to any of the others, as, except in xxiv. 1, the text of which is preserved in (α), the word is not found in or near the passages represented here. It does, however, occur in xxii frequently and in xxviii. 2.

459. ISAIAH, xxi, xxii.

Acquired in 1917.

22.7 × 3.2 cm.

Fifth to sixth century.
PLATE 4.

This strip, from a leaf of a magnificently written vellum codex, is fortunately complete in height, so that some estimate can be formed of the character of the original book. The lower margin is 4 cm., the upper (which may have been damaged) 2.8 cm.; the average number of letters in a line is 27, so that the measurements of the text (and those of the page would have been in proportion) were 16 × 13 cm. Each page contained only one column of text. The position of the fragment in the leaf is decided by the titles in l. 28 and l. 50, as it is fairly obvious that the scribe began a new line with the title, and he has, in fact, filled up what remains with scroll-work.

Palaeographically the MS. is of some interest, and will stand comparison with some of the best hands of the period. It bears a general resemblance to the Washington MS. of the Psalms (i.e. the hand responsible for the bulk of that MS.), although the scribe of 459 had a distinctly lighter touch, and it can hardly be later than the Vienna Dioscorides (E. M. Thompson, *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 210) of the first half of the sixth century. Another similar hand of the period, which also avoids the heavy style of some MSS., is the Vatican Cassius Dio (plate in Cavalieri-Lietzmann, *Spec. Cod. Graec.* 2). The distinctive features of the hand (not to be found in either the Washington MS. or the Cassius Dio) are the unusually angular *ε* and the curved *ω*. I should assign the MS. to the fifth, or perhaps to the sixth century. Punctuation and other marks appear to be in the first hand; the title in l. 50 (though not that in l. 28) is distinctly smaller than the rest of the text, but is in the same hand. A rough breathing is placed over *η*, but not over other vowels.

Textually the MS. is too small to be of much use, but it may be observed that in the case of two disputed readings of some importance (ll. 16 and 21) it sides with the Codex Sinaiticus (Σ) and the Codex Alexandrinus (A) against the Codex Vaticanus (B), as it does on two, and possibly on four, other occasions. In ll. 37 and 49, however, it supports B against the other MSS., as it does B and Σ in ll. 43 and 51. It does not follow A where it is unsupported by Σ, and its closest affinity is with the latter MS. It should be noted that in l. 33 it apparently supports the Codex Rescriptus Cryptoferratensis (Γ) against the rest of the tradition. Collation is with the text of Swete (Cambridge, 1894).

Recto.

	[και] ωδινες [ελαβον με ως την τικτου]	xxi. 3
	[σαν]· ηδικ[ησα το μη ακουσαι]	
	[εσπ]ουδασα [του μη βλεπειν]	
	[] ἡ καρδια [μου πλαναται ανομια με]	4
5	[βαπ]τιζει· ἡ [ψυχη μου εφεστηκεν]	
	[εις] φοβον· [ετοιμασον την τρα]	5
	[πεζα]ν· φαγετ[ε πιετε ανασταντες]	
	[οι αρ]χοντες [ετοιμασατε θυρεους]	
	[διο]τι ουτω[ς ειπεν προς με κ(υριο)ς]	6
10	[βα]δισας σεα[υτω στησον σκοπον]	
	[και] ο εαν ἴδῃ[ς αναγγελιον και ειδον]	7
	[αν]αβατας ἴ[ππεις δυο αναβατην]	
	[ονο]ν και αν[αβατην καμηλου]	
	[ακ]ροασαι ακ[ροασιν πολλην και]	8
15	[κα]λεσον ου[ρειαν εις την σκοπιαν]	
	[κ(υριο)ν] και ειπε[ν εστην δια παντος]	
	[ημ]ερας· και ἐ[πι της παρεμβολης]	
	[εγ]ω εστην ο[λην την νυκτα και]	9
	[ιδο]ν αυτος [ερχεται αναβατης]	
20	[συ]νωριδος· [και αποκριθεις ειπεν]	
	[πε]πτωκεν [Βαβυλων και παντα]	
	[τα] αγαλματα [αυτης και τα χειροποι]	
	[ητ]α αυτης [συνετριβη εις την]	
	[γη]ν· [ακουσατε οι κατα]	10
25	[λελ]ιμμενο[ι και οι οδυνωμενοι]	
	[ακ]ουσατε α [ηκουσα παρα κ(υριο)ν σαβαωθ]	

Verso.

	[ο θ(εο)ς του Ι(σρα)ηλ ανηγ]γειλεν η[μιν]	
	[το οραμα της Ιδου]מַאֲיָאֵס :: ξ[—]	11
	[προς εμε καλει παρα] του Σηειρ [φν]	
30	[λασσετε επαλξει]ς· φυλασ[σω το]	12
	[πρωι και την νυκ]τα· εαν ζ[ητης]	
	[ζητει και παρ εμοι οικ]ει· εν τω [δρυμω]	13
	[εσπερας κοιμηθησεσθ]αι εν τη [οδω]	
	[Δαιδαν εις συναντ]ησιν διψ[ωντι]	14
35	[υδωρ φερετε οι ενοι]κουντες [εν χω]	
	[ρα Θαιμαν αρτοις σ]υναντα[τε τοις]	
	[φευγουσιν δια τ]ο πληθος [των πε]	15
	[φονευμενων και δια τ]ο πληθος [των]	
	[πλανωμενων και δι]α το πληθ[ος της]	
40	[μαχαιρας και δια το π]ληθος τω[ν το]	

[ξευματων των δι]ατεταμε[νων]
 [και δια το πληθος των] πεπτωκ[οτων]
 [εν τω πολεμω] διοτι ου[τως] 16
 [ειπεν μοι κ(υριο)ς ετι ενι]αυτος ως [ενι]
 45 [αυτος μισθωτου εκ]λιψει ἡ δ[οξα]
 [των υιων Κηδαρ και] το καταλ[οιπον] 17
 [των τοξευματων τ]ων ἰσχυρ[ων]
 [υιων Κηδαρ εσ]ται ολιγον [οτι]
 [κ(υριο)ς ο θ(εο)ς Ι(σρα)ηλ ελαλη]σεν : ξε——
 50 [το ρημα της φαραγ]γος Σιων :· >→ xxii. 1
 [τι εγενετο σοι οτι] νυν ανεβ[ητε]
 [παντες εις δωματα] ματαια· []

3. The relative shortness of this line and the gap at the beginning of l. 4 may be due to the fact that with η καρδια a new verse begins; when the end of the verse coincides with a definite break in the sense the scribe leaves a gap of considerable length (in l. 24 of nearly 3 cm.). Possibly 459 added αυτο; but there is no other support for this.

4. The reading given in the text is that of the seventh-century correctors ^{c.a.} ^{c.b.} of **N**, which alone suits the available space; both that of **N*** ἀνομία με καὶ ἡ ἁμαρτία με and that of B καὶ ἡ ἀνομία με are too long.

7. φαγετ[ε πιετε] as BΓ: tr. **NAQ**.

9. διότι **NG**: ὅτι B. The former would exactly fill the gap at the beginning of the line, unless we assume that this was left blank for the new verse; there is, however, no break in the sense and probably the scribe only punctuates at the end of a sentence.

11. ο: ου **N*B*** (^{vid.}) Γ 93. ἐάν **AQN** ^{c.a.} ^{c.b.}: ἄν B.

12. Most probably the papyrus omitted the καί after δύο with **NAQΓ**.

16. κυρίου καὶ εἶπεν **NAQΓ**: κύριος εἶπεν B.

18. εγω om. **AQ**.

21. πέπτωκεν **NAQΓ**: πέπτωκεν πέπτωκεν B. It is practically certain that the papyrus agrees with **NAQΓ** here.

23. Possibly συνετρίβησαν with **NAQΓ**, which would suit the space better.

30. Though the end of the verse is marked by a stop, there is no gap; the break in the sense, however, between the verses is slight (contrast l. 43).

33. κοιμηθήσεται Γ: κοιμηθήσῃ rell.

34. ὕδωρ διψῶντι A.

37. In this, a disputed reading of some importance, there can be little doubt that 459 agrees with B and (on the evidence of Q) Origen and the hexaplaric text in reading πεφονευμένων instead of the φευγόντων of **NAQΓ** (the former is printed by Swete, the latter by Rahlfs): the latter would leave the next line impossibly short.

43. διότι **BN**: ὅτι **AQ*Γ**.

45: 1. ἐκλείψει.

46. λοιπόν **N**.

49. The words are given in this order by B: ἐλάλησεν ὁ ὁ̅ς Ἰηλ **NAQΓ**.

51. ὅτι νῦν **BN**: νῦν ὅτι **AQΓ**.

460. FRAGMENT OF A TESTIMONY BOOK.

Acquired in 1917.

11.4 × 14.1 cm.

Fourth century.

Published with 458 in *Two Biblical Papyri*; for reviews, &c., see the references given on p. 3. Two other fragments of the same bifolium (reprinted here as ll. 1-9, 28-37, 52-61, and

76-84) were published as P. Oslo 11¹; P. Oslo 11, frag. i, forms the upper part of folio 1, P. Oslo 11, frag. ii, the upper part of folio 2 of 460. The text consists of passages from different parts of the Septuagint, the majority from Isaiah; the connexion between them appears to be that they are all capable of bearing a Messianic interpretation and so might serve for purposes of propaganda. There is little doubt that the codex to which these leaves belong was a book of Testimonies, i.e. passages from the O.T. which can witness to the truth of the N.T. Two such works are extant, the *Testimonia* of St. Cyprian and the *Testimonia adversus Judaeos* attributed to St. Gregory of Nyssa; but the selection of passages quoted in 460 proves that it is independent of both these works.

A complete page of the codex probably measured some 28×11 cm. and contained 30 lines to the column. The hand is crude and irregular, though clear, and resembles P. Oxy. 209, a schoolboy's copy of Romans i. 1-7, which can be dated in the early fourth century.

Our text may be assigned to the same period, and as the Oslo fragments were purchased in the Fayûm, the Fayûm is the most likely place of origin. The usual theological contractions occur, and in place of final *ν* a short stroke is commonly added above the preceding vowel. Stops have been added by the first hand, with the exception of that in l. 12, which, with the mark against l. 15, is in black ink. The rest of the MS. is written in a reddish-brown ink which is better preserved in the Oslo fragments than in the Rylands text. The end of a quotation is marked by a stop, followed in l. 12 by a short horizontal line; there is no trace of subject headings.

It is not to be expected that the text of such a MS. would be of any importance for textual criticism; neither its omissions (as in l. 17 and l. 24) or additions (as in l. 49) are of any significance, although a tendency to disagree with Vaticanus (B) may be noticed, e.g. 15, 45, 46, 95. The textual notes attached to P. Oslo 11 have not been repeated: those relating to the Rylands fragment will be found after the text. The passages preserved in the Oslo fragments are underlined in the transcription.

Folio i, recto.

<u>τεθραυσμενο[ν ου]</u>	Isa. xlii. 3	<u>ργα αυτω[ν και του]</u>	
<u>συντριψει και λ[ινο(ν)]</u>		<u>λογισμο[ν αυτων]</u>	
<u>καπνιζομεν[ον]</u>		15 <u>Χεπισταμ[αι]</u>	
<u>ου σβεσει· αλλ[α εις]</u>		<u>ερχομαι συν[αγαγειν]</u>	
5 <u>αληθειαν εξ[οισει]</u>		<u>πασας τας γλω[σσας]</u>	
<u>κρισιν ανα[λαμ]</u>	4	<u>κ(αι) ηξουσιν και οψ[ον]</u>	
<u>ψει και ου θρ[αυσθη]</u>		<u>ται την δοξα[ν]</u>	
<u>σεται ως α[ν θη]</u>		20 <u>μου και καλει[ψω]</u>	19
<u>επι της [γης κρισιν]</u>		<u>επ αυτων σημει[ον]</u>	
10 <u>[και επι τω ονοματι]</u>		<u>και αποστελω [εξ]</u>	
<u>[αυτου] εθ[νη ελπι]</u>		<u>αυτων σεσ[ωσμενους]</u>	
<u>ουσιν·—κα[γω τα ε]</u>	Isa. lxvi. 18	<u>εις Θαρσε[ις και . . .]</u>	
		25 <u>και Μοσοχ [και εις Θο]</u>	

¹ The Oslo fragments were first published with the title *Septuaginta Fragmente* by G. Rudberg in *Videnskapsselskapets Forhandlingar*, 1923 (2).

θελ κα[ι εις την]
[Ε]λλα[δα]

Folio i, verso.

[οψο]νται και οι
[ου]κ ακηκοασιν συ(ν)
30 [η]σουσιν· κ(υρι)ε τις
[επ]ιστευσεν τη ακο
[η] ημων και ο βρα
[χι]ων κ(υριο)ν τινι
[απε]καλυφθη
35 [ανη]γγειλαμε(ν)
[εναντιο]ν αυτου
[ως παιδιον ως ρι]
[ζα εν γη δι]ψωση
[ουκ εσ]τιν ειδος
40 [αυτω ο]υδε δοξα
[και ειδο]μεν αυτο(ν)
[και ουκ] ειχεν ειδος
[ουδ]ε καλλος· αλλα
[το] ειδος αυτου ατι
45 [μ]ον και εκλειπο(ν)
[π]αρα παντας του
[νιου]ς των αν(θρωπ)ων
[αν(θρωπ)ος] εν πληγη
[ων και] εν πονω
50 [κ(αι) ειδ]ως φερειν
[μαλακι]αν ο[τι]
· · · · ·

Folio ii, verso.

αυτον δια τας
αμαρτίας ημω(ν)
δια το κεκα[κωσ]
55 θαι ουκ ανοιγ[ει]
το στομα α[υτου]
ως βροβα[τον]
επι σφαγη[ν ηχθη]
και ως αμ[νος]
60 εναντι[ον του]

Isa. lii. 15

Isa. liii. 1

2

3

Isa. liii. 6

7

κει[ρ]ον[τος αφω]
νος· και τας αμαρ
τίας αυτω[ν αυτος]
ανοισει δι[ια τουτο]

11

12

65 αυτος κλ[ηρονομη]
σει πολλους κ(αι) [των]
ισχυρων με[ριει]
σκυλα· ανθ [ων]
παρεδοθη εις θα
70 νατον η ψυχ[η]
αυτου και εν [τοις]
ανομοι[ς] ελ[ογισθη]
και αυ[τος αμαρτίας]
πολλων α[νηνεγκεν]
75 [κ(αι) δι]α τ[ας ανομίας]
· · · · ·

Folio ii, recto.

[μει]ζων εγενετο
[ως ο]ν με[γα]ς εγε
[νετο σ]φοδρα εγε
[νετο δε] αυτω
80 [κτηνη π]ροβατω(ν)
[και κτην]η βοω(ν)
[και γεωργ]ια πολλα
[]· λα
[]ατος
85 []· ε[.]τι·
— —

Gen. xxvi. 13

14

[Παραλειπο]μενω(ν)
— —

[την σοφια]ν και τη(ν)
[συνεσιν δι]δωμι σοι
[και πλουτον] και
90 [χρημα]τα και δο
[ξαν δ]ωσω σοι
— — —

2 Chron. i. 12

[Δευτε]ρονομιον
— —

[αποστε]λει κ(υριο)ς επι σε
[την ευ]λογιαν εν τοις
95 [ταμειοι]ς σου εν πασι

Deut. xxviii. 8

[ου αν επι]βα[λ]ης τη(ν)

[χειρα σου επι] της γης

[και πληθυ]νει σε κ(υριο)ς

[ο θ(εο)ς σου εις α]γαθα

100 [εν τοις εκγο]νοις τη[s]

11

15. The papyrus agrees with **Σ** against B, etc., in adding *επισταμαι* after *αυτων*. The sign placed in the margin against this line is probably a form of the common P = *ωραϊον*; that it calls attention to the uncertain reading is not likely.

17. All MSS. read *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ* before *τὰς γλωσσας*: **Σ** adds *αυτων*.

20. Read *κα(τα)λείψω*.

22. No other authority is cited for *αποστελω* in place of *ἐξαποστελῶ*.

24. After *Θαρσεὺς* the MSS. read *καὶ Φοῦδ καὶ Λοῦδ*; one of the two has clearly been omitted in the papyrus.

25. Read *Θοβέλ*.

45. om. *και* A Q. *εκλειπο(ν)*: so A and a later hand of Q; B reads *ἐκλιπὸν*.

46. Probably read *τοῦ(s)*; it is just possible that the scribe wrote the *s* in the next line, cf. *εργα* in l. 12. *παντας τοῦ(s) [υιου]ς των αν(θρωπ)ων* as **Σ**Q^{mg}: om. *παντας* B Γ: *παντας ανθρωπους* A Q*.

49. *και εν πονω*. This addition, not found in any other MS., was probably transferred by the writer from v. 4: *ἐλογισάμεθα αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐν πόνῳ καὶ ἐν πληγῇ*.

83 sq. It is fairly clear that the writer did not continue the passage from Genesis which runs *ἐξήλωσαν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Φυλιστιείμ*; these three lines probably contained a quotation from another book, the title of which—a short one, as it has left no traces—was written in the space between 82 and 83.

93. *αποστελει*: so the versions and some of the cursives; the uncials read *αποστείλαι*. For the significance of this reading, see P. Katz, *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 61 (1936), 341.

95. *εν πασι(ν)*: so AFMΘ and the versions; *ἐπὶ πάντα* B. *καὶ* before *ἐν πᾶσιν* is also omitted by the Bohairic and a few cursives.

461. PSALMS iii and lxii.

Acquired in 1917.

Fragment (c) 8.5 × 7.4 cm.

Sixth century.

Four fragments of a tall sheet of rather rough parchment containing verses from the third Psalm, one of which is misplaced, and the opening of the sixty-second Psalm. When complete the sheet must have been more than 30 cm. in height, and as the length of the line is only 7 cm., it is probable that there was originally a second column of which no traces have survived, and in which the scribe continued the sixty-second Psalm; whatever the purpose of the text, it is hardly likely that he would break off in the middle of a sentence in l. 28. Probably this sheet of parchment was used as a protective amulet; the verses of the Psalms chosen are obviously suitable for that purpose, although they have not hitherto occurred among the Christian amulets on papyri (see the list in Mlle Préaux's article 'Une Amulette Chrétienne', *Chronique d'Égypte*, 20 (1935), p. 365).¹ Further, the bottom of fragment (d), just below the end of the column, has been stitched up with thread, some of which still remains; this suggests that when complete the sheet was rolled up and the ends stitched together, thus being rendered more portable. It might indicate that at some

¹ To this list should probably be added P. Giss. Bibl. 34, a sheet of parchment containing verses from Psalms lxxiii (lxxiv) and cxi (cxii), which the editor attributes to the fourth century. It may, however, be a collection of miscellaneous verses arranged alphabetically (the verse from Ps. cxi precedes that from lxxiii).

later period the strip was used as a binding sheet. The hand is a good sloping uncial, regular and neat, and may belong to the sixth century; the punctuation at the end of the verse is in the same hand. On the verso (the hair-side) are remains of writing in a large sprawling hand of later date; unfortunately in the largest fragment, (c), very little is decipherable. On (a) can be read: (l. 2) ποιες (? ποιης) αυτα, (l. 3)] . ραχη οἰπε[, (l. 4)] πολλους αδ[; on (b), (l. 7)] αυ . οτι επεθ[, (l. 8)] . τυ αυτοις . [, (l. 9)] πατηρ φ[, (l. 10)] μου σεν [; on (c), (l. 13) εξυχηθη χαρι . [, (l. 14) εν χιλεσιν . . υ[; on (d), (l. 22)] . . απωσυμ[, (l. 23)]ς . απωτονε, (l. 24)] δωρον σου. Apart from ll. 13-14, which may be read as εξυχηθη (l. εξεχυθη) <η> χαρι[s] εν χιλεσιν (l. χειλεσιν) σου = Psalm xlv. 3, I have been unable to identify any of these passages. A line drawn below l. 14 indicates that the scribe did not proceed with Psalm xlv. L. 9 at any rate does not appear to come from any passage in the Psalms.

The text is collated with Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek*, and Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart, 1935). The testimony of such a text cannot be of much value; for what it is worth it may be noted that it twice supports Alexandrinus against Vaticanus. The provenance of the text is unknown.

(a)

· · · · ·	
σν μου ει [δοξα μου]	Ps. iii. 4
και υψω[[τ]]ν τ[ην κεφα]	
λην μου· φ[ωνη]	5
μου προς κ(υριο)ν εκ[εκρα]	
5 ξα και εισοικου[σεν]	
με εξ ορους αγ[ιου]	
[α]υτο[υ]	
· · · · ·	

(b)

· · · · ·	
[απ]ο [μ]υρια[δων λαου]	iii. 7
των κυκλ[ω συν]	
10 επειτιθεμεν[ων μοι]	
αναστα κ(υρι)ε σω[σον με]	8
ο [θ(εο)]ς μου· οτι [συ επα]	
[τα]ξας παντας [τους]	
[εχθρα]ινοντ[ας μοι]	
· · · · ·	

(c)

· · · · ·	
15 [σο]υ η ευλογια σου	iii. 9
εγω δε εκο[ι]	6

μηθην και υπνωσα
 εξυγερθη οτι κ(υριο)ς αν
 τιλημψετο μου·

20 ο θ(εο)ς ο θ(εο)ς μου προς σε ο[ρ] 1xii. 2
 [θ]ριζω· εδιψισεν
 σε η ψυχη μου
 πως[απλως σοι η σαρξ]

(d)

[σο]ν το ελ[εος σου] 1xii. 4
 25 υπερ ζωας τα χει
 λη μου επενεσω
 σιν σε· ουτος ευ 5
 λογησωσαι εν τη

2. $\upsilon\psi\omega\nu$, i.e. $\ddot{\upsilon}\psi\omega\nu$ P. 4. $\overline{\kappa\nu}$ P; so in 11 and 18. 5. l. εισηκουσεν. 9. l. συνεπιτιθεμένων. 11. κ written over first α of αναστα. 12. $\overline{[\theta]s}$ P; so in 20. 17. $\ddot{\upsilon}\pi\nu\omega\sigma\alpha$, i.e. $\ddot{\upsilon}\pi\nu\omega\sigma\alpha$ P. 18. l. εξηγέρθη. αντιλήμψεται. 21. l. εδιψησεν. 23. l. ποσαπλως. 24. i.e. κρεισ[σο]ν 26. l. επαινεσουσιν. 27. l. ουτως. 28. l. σε.

1. In the MSS. this verse runs: σὺν δέ, κύριε, ἀντιλήμπτωρ μου εἶ, δόξα μου κτλ.

3. The beginning of the new verse is marked by a gap as well as by punctuation.

5. The parchment supports the Alexandrinus and the Psalterium Graeco-Latinum Veronense (R) in reading εισηκουσεν for ἐπήκουσεν.

7. The rest of the line was presumably left blank (cf. l. 16) to mark the διάψαλμα. Between (a) and (b) only one line is lost containing the beginning of v. 7 οὐ φοβηθήσομαι.

9. συνεπιτιθεμένων NAR: ἐπιτιθεμένων B.

14. Between (b) and (c) four lines are missing if v. 8 was written out in full and assuming that the reading of l. 15 is correct. What is certain is that in (c) the scribe went back to v. 6 of the psalm, so it is probable that in the intervening space, otherwise unaccounted for, he wrote out vv. 8 and 9.

16. There is nothing to indicate that the scribe recognized that this verse was out of place. The papyrus follows the Alexandrinus in reading δε after εγω.

22. σε instead of σοι is the reading of B^b, N^{c-a} and also of the Turin Psalter (T).

23. Assuming that Ps. lxii was written in full, 6 lines must intervene between (c) and (d).

462. PSALMS cxlviii-cl.

Acquired in 1917.

28 x 7 cm.

Sixth to seventh century.

This peculiar text, written on the flesh-side of a vertical strip of parchment, consists of phrases reproduced in order, but without regard to their sense, from Psalms cxlviii, cxlix, and cl. The text starts with Ps. cxlviii. 9 and, with the exception of the last two verses, the

scribe has copied down the initial words of each verse, at times the whole phrase. He has followed the same procedure in Ps. cxlix; but in Ps. cl, where each verse consists of two nearly equal phrases each beginning with αἰνεῖτε, he has written down the initial words of each phrase, so that the text of this psalm is not far from complete. The scribe's knowledge of orthography (cf. αυτοκη for εὐδοκεῖ in l. 10) and of grammar (cf. αὐτα for αὐτοῖς in l. 15) is of the scantiest, and the fact that he spells ποιῆσαι ποιησε in l. 13 and πεησ(ε) in l. 15 suggests that he wrote to dictation. In contrast to this, the hand, of the bold slanting variety (cf. Abb. 99 in Schubart's *Griechische Palaeographie*), is distinctly good, and the usual contractions of the *nomina sacra* occur. It is hard to say how much is missing; the enlarged initial letters make it clear that the lines are substantially complete, but this column may have been preceded by another one or even two. The sheet of parchment cannot have been much higher than it is, nor is it likely that the writer started in the middle of Ps. cxlviii.¹ More puzzling is the purpose of this text. This irrationally abridged form can hardly have been intended for ordinary reading, nor can it have been used in church except possibly for antiphonal singing. Possibly it may have been used as an amulet, for, though the psalms here copied have no obvious prophylactic power, Mlle Claire Préaux has recently argued ('Une Amulette Chrétienne', *Chronique d'Égypte*, 20, 1935, pp. 361-70: the amulet in question consists of the third verse of Ps. xxviii (xxix)) that any passage glorifying the power and majesty of God might be used to repel the powers of evil.² The elaborate *alpha* and *omega*, with crosses in between, followed by the Chi-Rho below, support this view.³

Such a MS. can be of little or no textual value; but it is interesting to note—since the elaborate ornament implies, I think, that the scribe had reached the end of the book he was copying—that his MS. omitted the ψαλμὸς ἰδιόγραφος, cli (BT add it after the subscription). The usual contractions of the *nomina sacra* are found and the final words of the line are frequently abbreviated. On the verso are a few scrawlings, mostly of numerals, in a rough cursive hand. The provenance of the text is unknown.

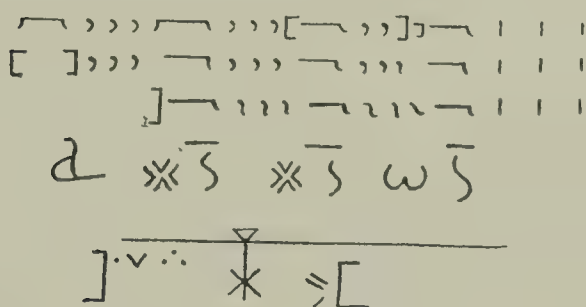
[τα] ορη	cxlviii. 9
[τα] θηρια	10
βασιλις της γ[ης]	11
νεανισκ(οι) και παρ(θενοι)	12
5 η εξομολογι[σις]	13
υμνος πασι	14
ασατε τω κυ(ριω)	cxlix. 1
ε[υ]φρανθητω ισ(ρα)ηλ	2
ευεσατωσαν	3

¹ Parchment rolls are mentioned by ancient writers, but the only examples known to me are 29, P.S.I. 15 (doubtful), P. Lit. Lond. 211 and the fragment of Tatian's *Diatessaron* from Dura (ed. G. H. Kraeling, London, 1935). That either the present text or 461 or P. Giss. Bibl. 34 consisted of more than a single sheet seems unlikely: v. Schubart, *Das Buch*², p. 109.

² The Psalm most commonly used for magical purposes was xc. Cf. the list in Mlle Préaux's article, p. 365.

³ Mr. T. C. Skeat suggests that this text may be one column of [? Latin]-Greek glossary to the Psalms; and, though the lines in this column are complete, there may have been another column to the right. But the omission of so many difficult words in cxlix and the repetition of αἰνεῖτε in cl tell against this view.

10	οτι αυτοκη κ(υριο)ς	4
	καυχησονται	5
	κ(αι) υψωσιν του θ(εο)υ	6
	του ποιησε εκδικισιν	7
	του δουσε του(ς)	8
15	του πεησ(ε) εν αυτα	9
	ενιτε τον θ(εο)ν εν της αγι(οις)	cl. 1
	ενιτε αυτον εν {η} τω στερ[εω(ματι)]	
	ενιτε αυτον επι δεσ τυνα[σ]	2
	τιες αυτου	
20	ενιτε αυτον κατα το πληθος	
	ενιτέ αυτον εν εχω σαλπιγ(γος)	3
	ε[νιτε] αυτον εν ψαλτηριω	
	ενιτέ αυτον εν δυ[μπανω]	4
	ενιτέ αυτ[ο]ν εν χορταις και	
25	[ε]νιτέ εν κυμβαλις	
	ευειχοις	
	[] αλαλαγμ(ο)ν	
	πασα πνοη ενεσατω	
	{νο}τον κ(υριο)ν	



3. l. βασιλείς. 5. l. ἐξομολόγησις. 6. ὕμνος P. 9. l. αἰνεσάτωσαν. 10. l. εὐδοκεῖ. 11. l. καυχῶνται. 12. l. ὑψώσεις. 13. l. ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν. 14. l. δῆσαι. 15. l. ποιῆσαι ἐν αὐτοῖς. 16 sqq. l. αἰνεῖτε. 1. τοῖς. 18-19. l. ταῖς δυναστείαις. 21. l. ἤχη. 23. l. τυμπάνω. 24. l. χορδαῖς. 25. l. κυμβάλοις. 26. l. εὐήχοις. 28. l. αἰνεσάτω.

5. For the opening words of this verse—*αἰνεσάτωσαν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου*—the writer has substituted two words from the final phrase, just as in l. 6 he has taken two words from the middle phrase of v. 14.

6. *ὑμνος πασι* (*τοῖς οἰοῖς αὐτου*). It is clear that the MS. which our scribe copied retained these words, as do A, N and other MSS.; they are omitted by the Vaticanus.

8. For this unusual contraction of *Ἰσραηλ* (*ιηλ* is the commonest), see L. Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, p. 107; it is also found in N and in the Vienna Genesis of the fifth-sixth century (Traube, p. 75).

12. In writing *και* for *αἰ* here the scribe may have been influenced by the *καὶ ὑψώσει* of cxlvi. 14.

17. *τω* is absent from the MSS.

25. [ε]νιτέ: add. *αὐτον* cett.

27. The second half of this verse runs *αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν κυμβάλοις ἀλαλαγμοῦ*: in our text there is only room for one word. As the line, except for the last word, is identical with the preceding the scribe probably contented himself with writing *ενιτε*.

463. THE GOSPEL OF MARY.

Acquired in 1917. Oxyrhynchus.

8.9 × 9.9 cm.

Early third century.
PLATE I.

A happy chance and the kindness of Professor Carl Schmidt have enabled the identity of this leaf from a papyrus codex—which I had formerly classed among the nameless apocrypha not uncommon in the papyri—to be established beyond any doubt. A first reading of this fragment of a ‘Gospel’, which consists mainly of a dispute between Mary Magdalene and some of the apostles who denied that her account of the teaching of the Saviour was true, made it clear that it aligned itself not with any of the historic or quasi-historic narratives of the life of Christ but with those works of early Christian literature which impose on a framework of narrative a superstructure of esoteric teaching. The use of σωτήρ to the exclusion of all other names for our Lord suggested a Gnostic origin for the work,¹ which was confirmed by the prominence assigned to Mary Magdalene in the fragment and the hostility her position aroused in the disciples. One of the characteristics of Gnostic teaching was the importance, in theory and practice, attached to women; and among the arid theosophical wastes of the *Pistis Sophia* are several incidents which recalled the quarrel recorded in our papyrus. Thus in Bk. I. 36 (57)² Peter complains that Mary is usurping the disciples’ place and speaks too much, and again, in II. 72 (161) Mary complains that Peter has threatened her and hates the sex; elsewhere Mary is prominent as a questioner of Jesus, and near the end of the book (IV. 132 (342)) the Saviour ‘proclaimed her blessed again and again’. In II. 100 Andrew, who also appears in our text, is specially rebuked for ignorance. This question of the importance of Mary Magdalene in the Gnostic writings is discussed at some length by Professor Schmidt in the introduction (p. lxxxvii) to his edition of the *Pistis Sophia* (Leipzig, 1925), and a quotation from the unpublished Coptic text of the Gospel of Mary in a Berlin papyrus of the fifth century provided the clue to the identity of our papyrus. The passage is worth quoting as it illustrates the background of our fragment. Professor Schmidt writes (p. lxxxviii):

‘Zu unserer Ueberraschung finden wir in dem noch unpublizierten koptisch-gnostischen Papyrus Berolinensis der ägyptischen Papyrusabteilung an erste stelle eine Abhandlung, die als Unterschrift den Titel trägt: Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μαριάμ. Dieses Euangelium hat ausserlich ebenfalls die Form von Unterredungen des Sotēr mit den Jüngern. Der Herr befiehlt, das Euangelium vom Reiche zu predigen und geht von ihnen. Darüber sind die Jünger betrübt, denn wie könnten sie das Euangelium vom Reiche des Menschensohnes predigen, wenn man des Herrn selbst nicht geschont hätte. Da tröstet Maria die Trauernden mit dem Hinweis, dass des Herrn Gnade mit ihnen sein wurde und sie beschirmen vielmehr sollten sie seine Herrlichkeit preisen. Infolgedessen wendet sie den Verstand der Jünger zum Guten hin und sie beginnen betreffs der Worte des Erlösers zu diskutieren. Da spricht Petrus folgendes zu Maria, “Schwester, wir wissen dass der Herr dich liebte mehr als die übrigen Frauen. Sage uns die Worte des Erlösers, deren

¹ See note to l. 4.² References are to the English translation by G. R. S. Mead, 2nd edition (London, 1921); the reader may also be referred to the literal translation by George Horner (London, 1924).

du dich erinnerst, diese, die du kennst, nicht wir, noch haben wir sie gehört". Maria erklärt sich bereit, das Verborgene ihnen zu verkündigen und trägt den Inhalt eines Traumgeschichtes vor, dessen sie vom Erlöser teilhaft geworden war.'

At this point 463 takes up the story, and after describing, with a gap of some lines, the dispute among the disciples, ends with their resolution to go and preach 'The Gospel according to Mary'.

A copy of 463 was sent to Professor Schmidt, who confirmed the identity of the papyrus, and very kindly supplied me with the translation of the Coptic text (in which the Greek words in the original are retained) which is printed below. This has not only made it possible to restore the correct reading at points where the Greek text was mutilated or corrupt and place it in its proper context, but also provides an interesting basis for a comparison between the two versions. The differences between the two are more numerous than we might expect; occasionally (see notes to ll. 11 and 30) they are probably due to corruption in the Greek text; but this does not account for the absence in Professor Schmidt's translation of the Coptic (henceforth referred to as S) of ll. 14 sq. in the Greek, or for its different handling of ll. 19-20. Another point of some interest which emerges from the comparison is that even when the Coptic text employs Greek words, these are by no means always represented in the Greek original, e.g. *γυμνάζειν* when the Greek has *συνζητεῖν*, in l. 20. Another result is that, as the pages of the Greek are numbered and as S gives us approximately the extent of the gap between the two sides, we can calculate the length of this initial section of the Gospel, the beginning of which is lost in the Coptic; this preface probably occupied some 480 lines, and just where our text ends, the Gospel proper, the esoteric teaching of whatever Gnostic sect produced the work, begins.

There would seem to be little doubt that the Gospel of Mary was one of the oldest Gnostic documents and probably was already in existence when Irenaeus was writing. From it quite probably derives the tradition which ascribes such importance to Mary Magdalene and which gave rise to the works known as 'The Greater' and 'The Lesser Questions of Mary'. Further, as Professor Schmidt points out (*op. cit.*, p. lxxxvii), the important part played by women in *Pistis Sophia* is not peculiar to Bks. I-III; it is no less conspicuous in Bk. IV, which is a separate work. Hence we are justified in looking for a common source for these incidents or passages of a narrative rather than a speculative character scattered throughout *Pistis Sophia*; and the most likely source, as Professor Schmidt points out, is the *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μαριάμ*. 463 further supports Professor Schmidt's hypothesis that Gnostic or Christian works written in Coptic are only translations from Greek originals;¹ in this case, the existence of a Greek text at such an early date is conclusive evidence.

Needless to say, no incident in any of the four canonical Gospels recalls even remotely the scene described in this fragment. It is, however, probable enough that Luke xxiv. 10, where, after the Crucifixion, the disciples refuse to believe the women's story of the empty tomb, and John xx. 18, where Mary Magdalene relates to the disciples what Jesus said to her at the tomb, provided Gnostic writers—who wished both to give some slight air of

¹ *Die Urschrift der Pistis Sophia in Ztschr. für die NT. Wissenschaft*, 24 (1925), p. 218 sq.

verisimilitude to their theosophic revelations and at the same time to emphasize the importance of women in the New Testament story—with a starting-point for their work. Further, the writer of this apocryphal work is very slightly indebted to the N.T. for his vocabulary; a few parallelisms have been pointed out in the notes, but, with the doubtful adaptation of St. Paul's words in l. 27, they can all be explained as being part of the common stock of Christian writers. The author's style is remarkably plain and almost crude, and suggests that his acquaintance with literary Greek, even perhaps with Christian literature, was not extensive, and that the work was not intended for a cultivated audience. It should, however, be remembered that the text given us in the papyrus is obviously an inferior one, and the divergencies from S suggest that a different, and perhaps better, Greek version may have been in circulation.

The text is written in a hand which, if clear and upright, is also ugly and ill-proportioned, and shows considerable cursive influence. It is singularly plain and has no peculiarities except the tendency to height in certain letters— κ , ν , τ , ρ . It bears a very close resemblance to P. Oxy. VIII. 1100, an edict of Subatianus Aquila dated in A.D. 206, although ϵ is more rounded in the latter and \omicron larger; of this hand the editor remarks that it approximates to the literary type, and being accurately dated, is of palaeographical interest. Another hand with which it has affinities is P. Oxy. VI. 853 (= Schubart, *Pal.*, Abb. 86), a Thucydidean commentary, probably written sometime during the second century. 463 can hardly be later than the middle of the third century, and probably is considerably earlier. The scribe was not a careful copyist; in ll. 6–7 he has repeated two words without crossing them out and—not to mention more serious faults in the MS.—in l. 27 he has failed to supply an omitted letter. Of the usual theological contractions only $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron\nu}$ for $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\nu$ is found in l. 27; the only other *nomen sacrum* to occur is $\sigma\omega\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ which, as not infrequently (e.g. in P. Oxy. 1081), is left uncontracted. In l. 25 ν has been omitted in the middle of a word and a line drawn over the preceding vowel. The scribe used a smooth breathing once, in l. 19, and a misplaced accent in l. 23; the diaeresis is found twice, in ll. 6 and 14. For punctuation a high point is employed twice, in ll. 2 and 9; it does not occur where we should expect it, at the end of Mary's speech in l. 18. To judge from S, some eight or ten lines have been lost after l. 15, so that a column of writing would have measured c. 7.5×12 cm. Recto precedes verso, and as, before being folded, the sheets of papyrus were generally laid with the recto side uppermost with the result that verso preceded recto in the first half of the quire, it is probable that our leaf came from the second half of a quire, and that the codex consisted of several quires.

The small strip which comprises the outer side of the leaf was in a small packet with a few other literary fragments, the provenance of all of which was definitely stated to be Oxyrhynchus. It was not until later that I came across the main fragment of the leaf in a separate folder to which no provenance was assigned. There is no reason to doubt that the origin of the text is Oxyrhynchus. Above l. 1 and to the right of the numeration are some ink marks, which may be the traces of some letters in a cursive hand; but the scribe has been careless with his pen in more places than one.

For valuable corrections and supplements of the text I wish to thank Mr. P. L. Hedley and Mr. J. W. B. Barns.

κα

το λοιπον δρομου και[ρο]ν χρονου
 αιωνος αναπαυσιν ε[ν] σιγη· ταυ
 τ[α] εἴπουσα η Μαριαμμη εσιωπη
 σε[ν] ως του σωτηρος μεχρι ωδε
 5 ειρηκοτος Ανδρεας λεγε[ι α]δελ
 φοι τι υμειν δοκει πε[ρ]ι των {πε
 ρι των} λαληθεντων εγω μεν
 γαρ ου πιστευω ταυτ[ε]· α' σ[ο]ν σ[ω]
 τηρα ειρηκεναι· εδοκει γ[αρ ετε]
 10 ρογνωμονειν τη εκ[ε]ιν[ου εν]
 νοια περι τοιουτ[ω]ν πρα[γμα]
 των εξεταζομενος ο σω[τηρ]
 λαθρα γυν[α]ικι ελαλει και <ου> φ[α]
 νερωσ ινα παντες ακουσα[ιμεν]
 15 [τι α]ξιολογωτερον α[.]ω[.] . .]
 [. . .]ε[.]
 [. . .] . [.]

κβ

του σωτηρος Λευ[ι]ς λεγει Πετρῳ
 Πετρε α[ει] σο[ι] το οργιλον παρακει
 20 ται και αρτι ουτως συνζητει[ς] τη
 γυναικι ως αντικειμενος αυτη
 ει ο σωτη[ρ] αξιαν αυτην ηγησατο
 σὺ τις ει εξουθενων αυτην παν
 τως γαρ εκεινος ειδως αυτην ας
 25 φ[αλ]ω[ς] ηγαπησεν μαλλ[ο]ν αισχυ(ν)
 θω[με]ν και ενδυσαμενο[ι] τον
 τ[ε]λειον αν(θρωπ)ον εκεινο το προστα(χ)
 θ[εν η]μειν π[ο]ιησωμεν κηρυσ{ε}
 σ[ειν το] ευαγγ[ε]λιον μηδεν ο[ρ]ιζον
 30 τ[ε]ς μ[η]δε νομοθετ[ο]υντες ως ει
 π[εν ο] σωτηρ [ταυ]τα ειπων ο Λευ
 [εις με]ν απ[ε]λθων ηρχεν κη[ρυσ]
 [σειν το ευαγγελι]ον [κατα Μαριαμ]

6. ὑμειν P: 1. ὑμῖν.
 29. ευαγγέλιον P.

14. ἵνα P.

25. αισχὺ P.

27. ἀντὶ P.

28. 1. ἡμῖν.

TRANSLATION.

(Recto) '... for the rest of my course of the ages of time I shall find rest in silence'. When she had spoken thus Mary held her peace, for thus far had the Saviour spoken. Andrew says, 'Brethren, what think ye of that which has been said? For my part I do not believe that thy Saviour said this. For it seems to differ in spirit from his thoughts.' (Peter says) 'Did thy Saviour when he was questioned concerning these matters speak privily to a woman and (not) openly, that we all might hear something of more note . . .'

(Verso) '(think you that I lie concerning) the Saviour?' Levi says to Peter, 'Peter, thy angry temper is ever with thee and even now thou questionest thus the woman as though thou wast her adversary. If the Saviour deemed her worthy, who art thou to set her at nought? For He knowing her thoroughly loved her surely. Rather let us be ashamed and putting on the perfect man let us do that which was commanded unto us, namely to preach the gospel neither making rules nor laying down laws other (than the) Saviour has said.' When he had spoken thus, Levi departed, and began to preach the Gospel according to Mary . . .

THE COPTIC VERSION.¹

Als die *ψυχή* ausser Wirksamkeit gesetzt (entkräftet) die dritte *ἐξουσία*, ging sie nach oben und sah die vierte *ἐξουσία*. Sie machte aus sieben *μορφαι*. Die erste *μορφή* ist die Finsternis, die zweite die *ἐπιθυμία*, die dritte die Unwissenheit, die vierte ist die Eifersucht des Todes, die fünfte ist das Reich des *σάρξ*, die sechste ist die törichte Klugheit (Einsicht) der *σάρξ*, die siebte ist die zornige (wütende) *σοφία*. Dies sind die sieben *ἐξουσίαι* der *ὁργή*, die befragen die *ψυχή*: Von wannen kommst du, du Menschenmörderin, oder (ἢ) wohin gehst du, du Oerter-Entkräftende? Es antwortete die *ψυχή* und sprach: 'Der, welcher mich erfasst, ist durchstossen und der, welcher mich zurückschickt, ist entkräftet, und meine *ἐπιθυμία* ist vollendet und die Unwissenheit ist gestorben. In einem [*κόσμος*]os bin ich erlöst aus einem *κόσμος* und in einem *τύπος* aus einem *τύπος*, der oberhalb und aus der Fessel der Vergessenheit, die ist *zeitlich*, von der *Zeit* an, wo ich empfangen werde die *ἀνάπανσις* in dem *χρόνος* des *καιρός* des *αἰών* in Schweigen.'

Als Maria dieses gesagt hatte, schwieg sie, wie wenn (*ὥστε*) der *σωτήρ* gesprochen hatte mit ihr bis hierher. Es antwortete δέ Andreas und sprach zu den Brüdern: 'Saget, was sagt ihr inbetreff dessen, was sie gesagt hat? Ich *μέν* glaube (*πιστεύειν*) nicht, dass der *σωτήρ* dieses gesagt hat, wie wenn diese Lehren *γάρ* andere Gedanken sind' (diese Lehren *γάρ* scheinen andere Gedanken zu sein).

Es antwortete Petrus und sprach (und) inbetreff derartiger Dinge hat er sie befragt wegen des *σωτήρ*: 'Hat er etwa (*μήτι*) gesprochen mit einem Weibe heimlich vor uns, nicht offen? Sollen wir selbst umkehren und wir alle auf sie hören? Hat er sie auserwählt vor uns?'

Da (*τότε*) weinte Maria und sprach zu Petrus: 'Mein Bruder Petrus, was denkst du? Denkst du, dass ich es ausersonnen habe allein in meinem Herzen (bei mir) oder (ἢ) dass ich in Bezug auf den *σωτήρ* lüge?'

Es antwortete Levi und sprach zu Petrus: 'Petrus, von jeher bist du ein Jähzorniger. Jetzt sehe ich dich, wie du wettkämpfst (*γυμνάζειν*) gegen das Weib nach Art der *ἀντικείμενοι*. Wenn der *σωτήρ* δέ sie *ἄξια* erachtet hat, wer δέ bist du, sie *πάντως* zu verwerfen. Da der *σωτήρ* sie *ἀσφάλως* kennt, deswegen hat er sie mehr geliebt als uns. *μᾶλλον* mögen wir uns schämen und anziehen den *τέλειον* Menschen und uns zu bereiten, wie (*καθώς*) er uns befohlen hat und verkünden (predigen) das *εὐαγγέλιον*, indem wir keine andere *ὁροι* noch (*οὐδέ*) andere *νόμος* auferlegen neben dem (*παρά*), was der *σωτήρ* gesagt hat.'

Als sie . . . dieses, da begannen (*ἄρχεσθαι*) sie zu gehen, [damit sie] verkündeten und predigten das *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μαρίαν*.

1. It may be noted that in the Coptic text *καιρος* and *χρονος* have changed places; it is strange that *αναπανσιν* should be so far from the verb which governs it and that *δρομου* should be unrepresented in the Coptic. Very probably the verb corresponding to *empfangen* in S was *εὐρήσω*: cf. Math. xi. 29 *εὐρήσετε ἀνάπανσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν*—and the Second Epistle of Clement, vi *ποιούντες γὰρ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐρήσομεν ἀνάπανσιν*.

¹ To place the fragment in its context, the preceding paragraph is also given.

3. *Μαριαμμη*: this form of the name *Μαρία* or *Μαριάμ*, though not found in the LXX or in the N.T., is common in Josephus.

4. Here S—‘as though the Saviour had spoken so far with her’—seems to be an improvement on the Greek.

ως . . . ειρηκοτος. This use of *σωτήρ* is alien to the canonical Gospels, where the word is used of Him only twice (Luke ii. 11 and John iv. 42), and in neither case as a descriptive label, as it is here. It may be noted that Irenaeus (i. 1, 1) criticizes the Valentinian Gnostics for using it to the exclusion of *κύριος*. Though not confined to them, it was the common way of referring to Jesus among the Gnostics; it is also regularly used in P. Oxy. 840, a dialogue between Jesus and a Pharisee on the difference between real and ritual purity.

μέχρι ωδε: on the analogy of *μέχρι ἐνταῦθα*, *μέχρι τανῦν*.

6. *τι ὑμιν δοκεῖ*: this expression is regularly used in St. Matthew's Gospel to introduce a question put to the disciples by Jesus.

8. *σου σωτηρα*: the phrase is peculiar, if not corrupt, and is not supported by S, but no other reading is possible.

9. *[ετε]ρογνωμονειν*: I owe the supplement to Professor Schubart. *ἐτερογνωμωνεῖν* does not appear in the new Liddell and Scott, but is found in Cyril of Alexandria, i. 540 a. With the supplement in the next line S does not help much; that given in the text does not, however, conflict with S. It is clear that this sentence, which ends with *ἐννοια*, is not comment by the author, but a part of Andrew's speech: *ἐκεῖν[ον]* must refer to Jesus. *ἐννοια* was a *terminus technicus* among the Barbelo-Gnostics (cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. 27), the sect to whom *Pistis Sophia* may be ascribed, but can hardly be used in that sense here.

11. In S this speech is ascribed to Peter, and ll. 18–19 of 463 presume that Peter has been the speaker. We must suppose that one (or following S, at least two) lines have dropped out of the Greek at this point; the question certainly begins very abruptly with *ἐξεταζομενος*. Alternatively, 463 may merely have placed Peter's intervention a little later and so have given the first sentence of his speech to Andrew.

13. Here and in the following lines, the Greek diverges considerably from S. *καὶ φ[α]νερως* is very probably corrupt (cf. the *nicht offen* of S, which gives excellent sense). The subsequent sentence appears to be unrepresented in S.

18. *του σωτηρος*: governed by some such phrase as *ψευδομαι περι*, cf. S.

Matthew is referred to as Levi without further qualification in the N.T. only in Luke v. 27–9.

19. The mark over the first *α* of *α[ει]* is too deliberate to be a casual blot; as it is distinct from the accent over *συ* in l. 23, it can hardly be anything except a smooth breathing.

19–20. Here again 463 diverges from S, which gives a rather free translation.

ὀργιλός is used of a person in Tit. i. 7; for *παρακειται* cf. Rom. vii. 21 *ἐμοὶ τὸ κακὸν παράκειται*.

συνζητει[s]: this word, not infrequent in the N.T., is used most frequently by Mark. It is remarkable that the Coptic has *γυμνάζειν*, never found in the N.T. in the sense required by S, ‘contend against’.

23. The misplaced accent over *συ* is not easy to account for. In speaking, the stress would naturally fall on this word, which might explain the presence of the accent. In the Coptic *παντως* clearly goes with the preceding words, whereas here it must be the first word of a new sentence.

24. *ασφ[αλ]ω[s]* which according to S should belong to *ειδως* must be taken with *ηγαπησεν*; this slightly improves the sense. For the sentiment cf. John xi. 5 *ἡγάπα δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν Μάρθαν καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς καὶ τὸν Λάζαρον*.

27. For *τελειος* (also in the Coptic) cf. Col. i. 28 (with *ἄνθρωπος*), Eph. iv. 13 (with *ἄνθρωπος*).

28. Here again 463 differs from S., though not so seriously as before.

29–30. Without the guidance of S (*indem wir keine andere ὅροι noch (οὐδέ) andere νόμος auferlegen neben dem (παρά), was der σωτήρ gesagt hat*) this peculiar passage would remain obscure. As it is, the text in l. 30 is probably corrupt; the simplest emendation would be to read *ἀλλως* *ἡ* *εἶπεν*. It is possible, however, that the text is correct and that the reference is to such a passage as Luke xii. 14 *τίς με κατέστησε κριτὴν ἢ μεριστὴν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς*, and that S represents a simplification.

31–2. Here S partly fails us; it seems to have differed slightly from the text of 463.

464. APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL (?).

Acquired in 1917.

2.8 × 7.4 cm.

Third century A.D.
PLATE 4.

The recto of this papyrus was used for an official document of some kind, to judge from the type of hand—heavy, rounded and regular; the spacing between the lines is considerable and the letters large, so that not enough survives for identification. The hand is of an official type common in the early third century (cf. Schubart, *Palaeographie*, Abb. 47, an edict of Caracalla, and *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, 32 b). [At some later period the verso was used for the Christian literary text—perhaps an apocryphal gospel—written in a small, sloping book-hand, probably not later than the middle of the century. In the small amount of text preserved there does not appear to be any reminiscence of the gospels; but it is too fragmentary to allow any inferences to be drawn about the character of the work. The line drawn below l. 11 presumably marks the end of a chapter or section. The only contraction to be noticed is $\overline{\omega\eta}$ in l. 12; $\sigma\omega\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ (if correctly read in l. 9) remains unabbreviated, as in 463.] For the text on the verso, printed below, see *Addenda and Corrigenda*.

.

]θω επι του π[
]ε αριθμουν[
]εις ετ[
]ζω δια ε[
 5]ντων τω[
]μοιρων[
]κανων[
 τ]εσσαρα[
 σ]ωτηρ οτω[
 10]α[.] ολην[
]ανατολικ . [
]ων $\overline{\omega\eta}$ του . [
] . αν ειπ[
]' [

2. ἀριθμέω is not found in the participle in the N.T.

6. Neither μοῖρα (if that is the word here) nor any of its compounds occur in the N.T.

7. κανών = *measure, rule* is used several times by St. Paul; but the word might also be the contracted genitive of κάνεον, *basket*. It is possible (cf. αριθμουν[in l. 2 and τ]εσσαρα in l. 8) that in this passage there was some version of the feeding of the multitude.

12. For $\overline{\omega\eta}$ = 'Ιη(σοῦς)—found in the Apocryphal Gospel, P. Lond. Christ. 1, and in the Chester Beatty codex of Gospels and Acts—cf. G. Rudberg in *Eranos*, xxxiii, pp. 146 sq.

14. The apostrophe was probably placed, as was usual at this period, after the first letter either of γγ or ττ.

465. LITURGY OF ST. MARK.

Acquired in 1917.

12.2 x 19 cm.

Sixth century.

A sheet of parchment which has been cut down, probably in ancient times to enable it to be more easily folded; it has been folded twice longways and three times across, and was probably worn as an amulet (the small holes may have been made for string to pass through). It was never part of a codex, as the writing on the verso is in the reverse direction to that on the recto. The main text, which is written in a good, slanting hand, in general appearance not unlike that of the Aphrodito Menander (Schubart, *Pal.*, Abb. 99), contains part of the Anaphora according to the liturgy of St. Mark in the Alexandrian rite; the second text, written in a crude and more upright hand of the same period, is a prayer for the departed, probably from the same liturgy.

The liturgy of St. Mark (or, as it is also called, of Alexandria) is preserved in a Coptic version and in Greek MSS., none of which are earlier than the twelfth century and which represent a later recension than that on which the Coptic version is based; a Latin translation of the Coptic version is given side by side with the version found in three Byzantine codices (the Codex Rossanensis, the Rotulus Vaticanus, and the Rotulus Messanensis) in C. A. Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies* (Cambridge, 1884), pp. 1 sqq.¹ As might be expected, the text in the parchment (which may have been written for use in church) differs very considerably from the later versions; and it is interesting to find that on several occasions (e.g. ll. 23, 24, 26) 465 agrees with the Coptic against the Byzantine versions, while in other places its text is at variance with that of both the Coptic and Byzantine versions. The most notable difference is the very abbreviated form of the Epiclesis found in the parchment (a form which, according to Mr. Ratcliff, suggests that the whole text is no older than the later fourth century) and the omission of the prayer for forgiveness (see note to l. 25) which is preserved in the Coptic version. 465 clearly does not represent a very careful text, and is not free from error; but it may be assumed that it is nearer to the original than the text of any of the existing MSS. Attention has been drawn to the more important differences in the notes², and the ends of the lines have been supplied partly from the Coptic version (C), partly from the Byzantine MSS. (codd.), as given in Swainson. The orthography throughout is very corrupt; some, however, of the mis-spellings have been corrected by the first hand, also responsible for the punctuation.

The second text appears to be based (as Mr. Ratcliff pointed out to me) upon the original Greek intercession for the departed; in the Greek version of the Liturgy of St. Mark this is found in an abbreviated form (Swainson, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-2), which bears little verbal resemblance to our text. The Coptic version (translated in F. A. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 1, p. 170) is closer, but the two are by no means identical. On this Mr. Ratcliff writes: 'The position of this petition is interesting. In the liturgy it precedes Consecration. Its position here after Consecration recalls the εὐχὴ προσφύρου of

¹ I am much indebted to the Rev. E. C. Ratcliff for pointing out to me the relation of the parchment to the existing texts of the Liturgy of St. Mark and for several valuable suggestions.

² No indication is given where the parchment differs from one or two only of the Byzantine MSS.

Serapion, which follows a fashion of devotion set by the practice commended by Cyril of Jerusalem, who says that the prayer offered at this moment for the departed is a *μεγίστη ὄνησις* to him. The Copts preserve two liturgies, “St. Basil” and “St. Gregory”, which follow Jerusalem practice in placing a complete intercession after Consecration, and thus abandon the Alexandrian tradition as represented by St. Mark. The significance of this whole fragment to the original owner lay, I should think, in this petition for the departed and in its position’ (which may explain why the original sheet was cut down to form an amulet).

Recto (hair-side).

αληθως πληλης γαρ εστιν [[α]] ὁ ουρα[νος και η γη της αγιας σου δοξης]
 τια του κυριου και θεου και σοτηρος ημων Ιησου Χ(ριστου) πληρωσον]
 ο θεος και ταυτην θυσιαν της παρα σ[ου ευλογιας δια του αγιου σου]
 πνευματος· οτι αυτος ο κυριος και θεος· κα[ι σωτηρ και παμβασιλευς ημων]
 5 Ι[[ε]]ήσους ο Χ(ριστος)· εν τη ν[[η]]ύκτι <η> παρετι[του εαυτον υπερ των]
 αμαρτιων ημων· και των [[η]] υπερ απ[αντων υφιστατο θανατον]
 αρτ[[ω]]ον λαβων επι των αγιων κα[ι αχραντων και αμωμων αυ]
 του χιρῶν^λ αναβρεψας εις τον ουρ[ανον προς σε θεος τον ιδιον π(ατε)ρα]
 ευχαριστ[[ε]]ήσας ευλογησας αγιασας κ[λασας εδωκε τοις αγιοις μα]
 10 θητης και αποστολοις [[α]]ε(ι)πον λαβε[τε φαγετε εκ τουτου παντες τουτο μου]
 τω κ . λω κ . . σ . . ονμενο .
 εστιν το σωμα της γηνης διαθηκης [και υπερ πολλων διαδιδομενον]
 εις αφησιν αμαρτιων τουτο ποιειτε [εις την εμην αναμνησιν ωσαυτως]
 μετα τω τιπνησι λαβων πο[[λ]]τηλιον ευ[χαριστησας μετεδω]
 κεν της ιτιαις αυτου μαθητης και αποστολοις ειπων πιετε παν]
 15 τες εξ αυτου τουτο μου εστιν το υμα τ[ο υπερ υμων και πολ]
 λον αχυννομενον και τετοκενον εις α[φεςιν αμαρτιων τουτο ποιειτε]
 εις την ἔμην αναμνησιν + ωσαγης γαρ α[ν εσθιητε τον αρτον τουτον πινητε δε]
 και το ποτηριον τουτο [[.]]τον ημων [θανατον καταγγελλετε και την]
 ημ[[ν]]ην αναστασι[ν ομολογιται + τον θ[ανατον ο θεος πατερ παντοκρατωρ]
 20 του μονογενους ὁσού υιου του κυριου και θεου [και σωτηρος καταγγελλοντες και]
 αναστασιν και την εις ουρανούς· αν[αληψιν και την εκ δεξιων σου καθεδραν]
 και την εντοξον αυτου τευτεραν π[αρουσιαν απεκδεχομενοι εν η μελλει ερχε]
 σθαι κρινη την οικουμενην εν δικ[αιοσυνη και αποδουναι εκαστω]
 κατα τα εργα αυτου [ειτε α[γαθον] [ειτε κακον σοι εκ των σων δωρων προεθηκα]
 25 μεν εγωπιον σου [και δεομεθα] και παρ[ακαλουμεν σε, εξαποστειλον σου]
 το πνευμα το αγιον επι τα . . ορωμενα σου [δωρα, επι τον αρτον τουτον]
 και επι το π[[ε]]οτηριον [του]το

Verso (flesh-side).

και ποιησης το(ν) μεν αρτον τουτο σω[μα Ιησου Χ(ριστου) το δε ποτη]
 ριον ημα της κηνης διαθηκης· α[υτου του κυριου και θεου και σωτηρος και παμ]
 30 βασιλευς ημων Ιησου Χ(ριστου) αμην + ινα [γενωνται πασιν ημιν τοις με]
 ταλαμβανωσιν εις πιστιν εις νεψ[ιν εις ιασιν εις ευφροσυνην εις αγιασμον]

εις εμπανανέωσιν ψυχῆς σώματο[s και πν(ευμ)ατος εις κοινωνιαν ζωῆς αἰωνίου]
 εις σωφροσ(υν)ην και αφθαρσιας εις αξ[ινα σου]
 και εν τουτο καθος και εν παντι τ[οξασθη και υμνηθη και αγιασθη το]
 35 αγιον και εντιμων κα(ι) πανεχ[σου ονομα εις α]
 φησιν αμαρτιω'ν' + (2nd hand) σοι νει'η'θ[

(2nd hand).

+ δεσποτα κυριε παντοκρατωρ π[ατηρ του κυριου και σωτηρος]
 ημων Ι(ησο)υ Χ(ριστο)υ δεομεθα και πα[ρακαλουμεν σε φιλανθ]
 ρωπε των κοιμηθεντων [πατερων ημων και αδελφων εν]
 40 πιστι θ(εο)υ αναπανσαμενω[ν]
 μετα των αγιων σου συνα[γεσθαι ? ενθα απεδρα οδυνη]
 και λυπη και στεναγμος [μετα των]
 αγιων συνανειρειων : κα[ι την σαρκα αυτων αναστησον εν η]
 ωρισας ημερα κατα τα[s αληθεις και αψευδεις]
 45 σου επαγγελειας αποδι[δους αυτοις ο οφθαλμος]
 ουκ ειδεν και ους' ουκ ηκ[ουσεν και επι καρδιαν]
 αν(θρωπ)ου ο[υκ] ανεβη

1. 1. πλήρης. 2. 1. διὰ . . σωτήρος. $\overline{\kappa\nu}$ και $\overline{\theta\nu}$. . $\overline{\iota\nu}$ $\overline{\chi\nu}$ P; so elsewhere. 4. $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma}$ P. 5. 1. παρεδίδου.
 6. 1. τὸν. 8. 1. χειρῶν ἀναβλέψας. 10. 1. μαθηταῖς . . εἰπὼν. 11. 1. καινῆς. 12. 1. ἄφεςιν. 13. 1. τὸ
 δειπνῆσαι . . ποτήριον. 14. 1. τοῖς ἰδίοις . . μαθηταῖς. 15. 1. αἷμα. 16. 1. ἐκχυνόμενον . . ῥιζιδόμενον. 17. 1. ὄσακις.
 18. 1. ἐμὸν. 19. 1. ἐμὴν . . ὁμολογεῖτε. 22. 1. ἐνδοξον . . δευτέραν. 23. 1. κρίναι. 28. 1. ποιήσῃ.
 29. 1. αἷμα καινῆς. 30. 1. βασιλέως. Ἰησοῦ ἵνα P. 31. 1. νῆψιν. 32. 1. ἐπανέωσιν. 33. 1. σωφροσύνην.
 34. 1. τούτῳ καθὼς . . δοξάσθῃ. 35. 1. ἐντιμον. 40. 1. πίστει. 45. 1. ἐπαγγελίας.

1. *Vere pleni sunt caeli* C: πλήρης γὰρ ἐστὶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ οὐρανός Cod. Ross., Rot. Vat.: om. ἐστὶν ὡς Rot. Mess.

2. Add. τῆς ἐπιφανείας after διὰ codd. *Per filium tuum unigenitum* C.

3. Perhaps ταυτην (την) θυσίαν. Probably there is not room for δια της επιφοιτησεως (*per illapsum super illud* C.)

4. This form of contraction for πνεύματος, though not so frequent as $\overline{\pi\nu\varsigma}$, is not unknown, see L. Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, p. 94.

6. Two of the MSS. add σαρκί after θάνατον, for which there would probably be room in our text; C has *propria sua voluntate*.

7. Possibly ἀθανατων instead of αμωμων, with Rot. Mess.; C has *in manus suas sanctas, immaculatas, puras, beatas, et vivificantes*.

10. τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ μακαρίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς codd.: *apostolis puris* C. The supplement ἐκ τουτου παντες is based on C; the words do not appear in the codd.

11. της καινης διαθηκης: these words are out of place here and should come after το αιμα in l. 15. The scribe attempted to insert the proper words τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλόμενον καὶ διαδιδόμενον (or an analogous expression) above the line; but the ink is too faded to determine what he wrote. Between the κ and the λ there are certain traces of one letter.

The supplement υπερ πολλων is taken from C's *pro multis*; the words are absent from the codd. as are also the words τουτο . . . αναμνησιν in the next line

13. The words καὶ κεράσας ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, which come in the codd. after ποτήριον and are also represented in C, were omitted from our text. It agrees with C in omitting here the ἀναβλέψας εις τον ουρανον κτλ. of l. 8, which is repeated in the codd. and also omits the *et benedixit eum et sanctificavit eum et gustavit* of C.

17. The supplement in this line is unusually long and it is probable that the scribe omitted τὸν or τοῦτον.

19. The scribe has omitted at least ἄχρῖς οὗ ἂν ἔλθω after ὁμολογεῖτε.

20-1. In these lines the version of the parchment is considerably abbreviated.

23. Here the parchment agrees with the *orbem* of C, against the ζῶντας καὶ νέκρους of the codd.

24. Here again the parchment agrees with C which reads after *secundum opera sua, sive bonum sive malum*; these latter words are not represented in the codd.

25. After εὐωπιον σου C has a prayer of some length for the forgiveness of sins, which is not found in the codd. and was clearly also absent from the parchment.

The text of the Epiclesis in the parchment is only a quarter the length of that in either C or the codd.

26. Before *super hunc panem* C has *super haec veneranda dona proposita coram te*, to which nothing to correspond is found in the codd.; clearly it or something similar stood in the parchment, but the parchment is so faded at this point that the participle employed cannot be read. Perhaps πρ(ο)ορωμενα, 'which thou seest here', might be read, as Mr. Ratcliff suggests: but it cannot be verified.

27. The latter part of this line was left blank.

28. The supplement here is based on C's *corpus Christi*; in the codd. σῶμα stands alone.

33. καὶ ἀφθαρσίας is probably misplaced; it should go in the preceding line after αἰωνιον.

Mr. Ratcliff tentatively proposed ἀξ[ιολογιαν] here, and thinks it might have been suggested by the ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον of the introductory dialogue; but I can find no instance of this word. We should expect εἰς δοξολογιαν του αγιου σου ονοματος.

35-6. πανεχ[] : πανεχυρον suggests itself, but does not appear in the lexicon. Possibly πανελ[εημον] might be read. παν|αγιον would make l. 34 rather too long.

The text of the parchment is confused at this point. εἰς ἀφεσιν ἀμαρτιων should precede the clause beginning ἵνα σου in l. 33. Owing to its intrusion here it is quite uncertain whether the parchment read συν Ἰησου Χριστῳ καὶ αγιω Πνευματι after ονομα, with C and the codd.

It is not clear to what the words at the end of l. 36 refer; they do not appear to be part of the prayer which follows in the MSS.

39. ρωπε των: φιλανθ[]ρωπε seems the most plausible restoration, but obliges us to assume that υπερ has fallen out before των. For the supplement to the line see Brightman, *op. cit.*, p. 169, 34.

40. Perhaps supply απ αρχης κοσμου, see Brightman, *loc. cit.*

41-2. Brightman, *op. cit.*, 170, 12 = Isaiah, xxxv. 10.

43-4. Brightman, *loc. cit.*

45-7 = 1 Cor. ii. 9.

466. TWO BYZANTINE HYMNS.¹

Acquired in 1920. Fayûm.

22.6 × 11.9 cm.

Seventh century.

PLATE I.

The two hymns which constitute the main content of this sheet of papyrus are of the type known as *canons* (or, more strictly, τροπάρια, nine of which composed a κανών), the predominant form taken by the hymn in the middle Byzantine period; the canon is described by A. Baumstark (art. 'Hymns (Greek Christian)', in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 7, p. 9) as follows: 'The canon . . . is a mode in which the singing of *troparia* is combined with all the Biblical songs recited in Matins, the short and unvarying

¹ For identifying the *genus* of these texts, for the metrical reconstruction, and for the substance of this introduction, I am deeply indebted to Dr. G. Zuntz and, through him, to Professor Höeg who co-operated with him. See also *Addenda and Corrigenda*.

hypopsalma of an earlier day giving place to poetical strophes of considerable length and of the same metrical structure.' That they belong to this type is clear from their relation to the eighth and ninth Biblical Odes; these, regularly sung at Matins, comprise eight songs from the Old Testament and one from the New, the latter consisting of the *Magnificat* and the *Benedictus*; to each a τροπάριον was attached and a series of such τροπάρια formed a κανών. Each contains three strophes, as is usual with Byzantine canons, of the same metrical structure; the first one, A, has, as was not uncommon, a theotokion attached to it.

These hymns represent a primitive stage of the development of the canon, and consequently are of some importance for the history of Byzantine literary forms; they form a link between the earlier Christian hymns and the later more highly developed and more sophisticated hymnology of the Byzantine age. The invention of the canon is commonly attributed to Andreas of Crete (675-740), although its existence in the fifth and sixth centuries is attested by at least three independent witnesses (see W. Christ-M. Paranikas, *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum* (Leipzig, 1871), pp. xxix sq.). Christ and Paranikas (*op. cit.*, p. xxxv) would delete the mention of the word κανών in these passages as a later addition; but it seems more probable that in parts of the Greek East, in Egypt at least, the canon had been known long before it was developed and standardized by Andreas in the eighth century. This view is strongly supported by 466; for even if it is dated as late as the eighth century, we can hardly suppose that the invention of Andreas would have found its way, in his lifetime, to an Egyptian provincial church at a time when Egypt was under Arab domination. Further, the irregularities both of the text and of its arrangement, and the crude style of the hymns, as contrasted with the work of Andreas, certainly do not suggest that the canon, in its finished form, had recently been introduced from outside Egypt.

With a few alterations—justified by the corrupt state of the text, which in places, e.g. in ll. 8 and 14, needs considerable emendation to give any sense at all—the text of the two hymns can be reduced to a metrical scheme. Each consists of three strophes; in both each strophe begins with the same words (in A with a doxology, in B with Σέ); in both each strophe ends with a refrain, and the statements between the initial word or words and the refrain are invariably in the form of participial clauses. The refrains (ὑπακοαί or ἐφύμνια) were probably sung by the congregation; they are a characteristic feature of early Christian (and so probably Jewish, see Christ-Paranikas, *op. cit.*, p. xvi) poetry, and are to be found e.g. in the Parthenaion of Methodius (Christ-Paranikas, *op. cit.*, p. 33) and in P. Ryl. 7 (see also *Constitutiones Apostolorum* (ed. Funk), ii. 57, 6). What is unusual is to find, together with the refrain, the system of identical words at the beginning of strophes. The metrical principle is that of syllabic equality; no importance is laid on the distribution of accents; hiatus, and some variation in the caesura, are allowed. The scheme of A is 8:12:12:10 (with a possible exception in the first line of the theotokion); that of B is 10:10:7. (For metrical purposes the refrain does not count as a part of the strophe; θεός, it should be noticed, is dissyllabic throughout.)

These two hymns do not appear to be preserved elsewhere; but among the canons attributed to St. John Damascene is a small group of poems which, both in structure and

style—they are less theological and simpler in phrasing than the rest—bear some resemblance to our texts. They are the last three odes of the canon sung at Matins during Ascension (Christ-Paranikas, *op. cit.*, pp. 227–8), of which the ninth may be quoted:¹

Σὲ τὸν λυτρωτὴν τοῦ κόσμου, Χριστὸν τὸν Θεόν,
οἱ ἀπόστολοι βλέποντες ἐνθέως ὑψούμενον
μετὰ δέους σκιρτῶντες ἐμεγάλυνον.

Σὲ τὸν καταβάντα ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς,
καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον σώσαντα καὶ τῇ ἀναβάσει σου
ἀννυψώσαντα, τοῦτο μεγαλύνομεν.

Χαῖρε, Θεοτόκε μῆτερ Χρίστου τοῦ Θεοῦ,
ὃν ἐκύησας, σήμερον ἐκ γῆς ἀνιπτάμενον
σὺν ἀγγέλοις ὁρῶσα ἐμεγάλυνες.

and with the first verse of A the first verse of the seventh ode may be compared:

ὁ ἐν καμίνῳ πυρὸς | τοὺς ὑμνολόγους σώσας παῖδας
εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός, ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

We may perhaps conclude that St. John Damascene embodied in his collection some extant hymns reflecting the simpler piety of an earlier age. The theotokion which forms the fourth strophe of A also appears to be new; but theotokia of this type from the ὕμνος ἀκάθιστος onwards (Christ-Paranikas, *op. cit.*, p. 146) are numerous (cf. *Paracletice* (Venice, 1851), pp. 103, 108, 194; for the *μεγαλυνάρια* see Christ-Paranikas, *op. cit.*, p. 85, &c.); and there are two in the canons of St. John Damascene which bear a general resemblance to ours and which also preserve metrical correspondence with the preceding strophes (Christ-Paranikas, *op. cit.*, pp. 233 and 235).

It is difficult to determine the occasion for which these hymns were intended, since it is not explicitly stated (as we might expect it to be) in the headings. That they were related to the eighth and ninth Biblical Odes respectively there need be no doubt; the heading of A explicitly refers to the eighth Biblical ode and that of B—*εἰς τὸ μεγ(αλύνει) τὴν ὑψηλοτέραν τῶν χερουβίμ*—in all probability to the ninth. The final words look like a reference to the well-known stanza (quoted in full in note on l. 22) of which the first line is: *τὴν τιμιωτέραν τῶν χερουβίμ*. This stanza is known as the *εἰρμός* (the typical strophe used as a model for a series) of the *ἀκολουθία τῶν παθῶν* for Good Friday (*Triodion* (Venice, 1748), p. 387), and is ascribed to Cosmas of Majuma, the friend of St. John Damascene. It is, however, often found separated from its context, and was used on many occasions, as a rule without the rest of the canon, e.g. it is occasionally given at the end of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom (F. E. Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 399; see also Goar, *Euchologion* (Paris, 1647), p. 78, § 141 and, for the Hours at Christmas, *Menaion* (Rome, 1888), pp. 635, 638, 643, &c.). Numerous variations of the text are found; but none of them is identical with the heading of B. Two explanations are possible. Either

¹ Equally striking as a parallel to our texts are some other canons also preserved in the same writer's *Octoechos* (Venice, 1883) and also, almost certainly, earlier hymns which he took over and adapted for his collection; n.b. those for the seventh, eighth, and ninth odes, p. 105 sq.

the scribe of B wrote ὑψηλοτέραν in mistake for τιμιωτέραν, in which case we must infer that Cosmas took as the εἰρμός of his ode an already existing troparion. Alternatively, we may suppose that the version given in B is correct, in which case some stanza very close to that of Cosmas (and which also converted the words of the *Magnificat* to the praise of the Virgin herself) must have served as his model. In either case there is this difference between the two hymns, that while in A the εἰρμός is given in full, in B it is only indicated.

But there is some internal evidence as to the occasion of these hymns. As the nine Biblical Odes were regularly sung at Matins in the Byzantine rite (cf. Simeon of Thessalonica in Migne, *P. G.* 155, 640 c-d), we may assume that our hymns accompanied them on some occasion or other. A further limitation may be possible. The basis of A is the story of the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace; this lends itself to many varieties of allegoric interpretation,¹ but here it is to be noticed that the author, after devoting one stanza to the original subject, passes on to the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, which also form the principal theme of B. Two explanations may be suggested; either the hymns were part of a Sunday canon, since from the earliest times (see *Const. Ap.* viii. 33, 2) Sunday was set aside for the commemoration of the Resurrection;² or else, since the Crucifixion as well as the Resurrection is alluded to, they might be part of an Easter canon, either at Matins or at the night service on the Saturday when the Song of the Three Children was always sung. It may be noted that the hymns are definitely monophysite in tone; cf. ll. 6-8 where the language is reminiscent of the phrase added to the Trisagion by Peter the Fuller, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς (see art. 'Monophysites' in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 8, p. 813; also note *ad loc.*).

Ll. 17-19, which follow immediately on A, and l. 34, after B, may be explained as incipits of other hymns, which were perhaps connected in the scribe's mind with A and B, but which for some reason he did not continue. The lines written on the verso at right angles to the rest of the text may be part of a hymn in honour of St. Theodore Stratelates; but I have been unable to identify them. The text is written throughout in a heavy and sloping semi-cursive (not unlike that of Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, 48 b), most probably to be assigned to the seventh century, though a later date cannot absolutely be excluded. The writing on the verso runs in the opposite direction to that on the recto, i.e. the sheet was turned upside down before the verso was written; hence the papyrus was not part of a codex but a single sheet, probably used, as was P. Amh. 9, as a choir slip. The lower part of the sheet at least is a palimpsest; on the recto a few Greek letters or figures are visible, on the verso are traces of half obliterated Arabic writing, though not enough to indicate the nature of the text. (The two lines of figures at the bottom of the recto text are in the same ink and hand as the preceding text; their purpose here is obscure.) The hand is generally clear, although the down strokes are so heavy that e.g. αἰ and η are almost indistinguishable, and there are occasional blots; the orthography, as is perhaps to be expected in a text of this type and of this period, is very slipshod. *Nomina sacra* are regularly contracted, and the contraction marked by a horizontal

¹ For use of it somewhat parallel to that in our text cf. P. Bouriant, 4, 10.

² Further, the stanza τὴν τιμιωτέραν κτλ. formed the ὑπόψαλμα of the *Magnificat* at Sunday Matins (see *Typhikon* (1888), p. 544). The resemblance of these hymns to the canons from the *Octoechos* already mentioned also suggests that they were intended for the ordinary Sunday rite.

line; two of the forms found in this text deserve notice, $\overline{\iota\eta\nu}$ for $(\epsilon)\iota(\rho\eta)\nu\eta\nu$, a contraction which does not appear to have occurred before (see L. Traube, *Nomina Sacra*) and $\overline{\sigma\omega\rho\iota\alpha\langle\nu\rangle}$ for $\sigma\omega(\tau\eta)\rho\iota\alpha\nu$, also new, although $\overline{\sigma\rho\iota\alpha}$ is found in MSS. of the eighth and ninth centuries (Traube, p. 118). The form $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$ for Ιησους is found not infrequently both in early and late MSS., cf. Traube, pp. 156 sq., and G. Rudberg, *Eranos*, xxxiii, p. 146.

The papyrus was purchased in the Fayûm and so is likely to come from that area; possibly we can define its provenance more exactly. Ll. 36–7 may refer to St. Theodore Stratelates, a popular saint in the Monophysite Church, to whom, as we know from P. Klein. Form. 164, 671, and 702, a church was dedicated in Arsinoë in the sixth and seventh centuries. Hence it is possible that our papyrus was once used as a choir slip in this church.¹

Recto.

+ συν `θεώ' εἰς `τό' εὐλογ(εῖτε) ἡχ(ος) πλ(αγιος) α'

δοξα ἐν υψιστοις θ(ε)ῶ του ἐν Βαβυλ(ῶνι) ἐκ
 εἰ οφθεντι ἐ(ν) φλογι κ(αι) ἐν τη καμινου .
 τροσισαντι το πυρ ον ι πετες 13

5 υμνου(ν)τ(ες) ἐλεγον εὐλογ(εῖτε) τα εργα κ(υριο)υ
 δοξα ἐν υψιστοις θ(ε)ῶ του ἐν τῷ στ(αυ)ρῷ
 προσυλωθεντι ἐν σαρκι· κ(αι) ἐκουσιους
 παθο(ν)τα δι ἡμας ον οἱ παιδες υ(μ)νου
 δοξα ἐν υψιστοις θ(ε)ῶ· του τριημερον

10 αναστας ἐκ τῶ(ν) νεκρων· κ(αι) ἐν Γαλαι
 λεα ωφθεντι μαθηταις· ον οἱ πε
 δες υμνου(ν)τες ἐλεγον εὐλογ(εῖτε) τα εργα κ(υριο)υ
 χαιρε θε[ο]{σ}τοκ(ε) αγνη `του Ι(σρα)ηλ' χερε υς μητρ[α]
 πλατιτερα ου(ρα)νον· χαιρε υγιασ

15 τας· ἐπουρανιε θρονε ον οἱ πε
 δες υμνου(ν)τες ἐλεγον εὐλογ(εῖτε) τα εργα κυριου
 ἐπεποθησαν τη(ν) συννηνητησιν
 την αναστασιν Χ(ριστο)ς Ιη(σου)ς κ(αι) ἀγ'ιν' [.]ων
 κ(αι) προλαβοῖσα Μαρια 17

20 ρ,ς . . κ' και 18 υι κ'δ' }
 χ[μγ]' ιε κ, δ'

Verso.

εἰς το μεγαλυνει) την υψηλωτερα(ν) τον χαιροφιν

σε τον στ(αυ)ρουθεντα κ(υριο)υ δια σω(τη)ρια(ν)
 παντων ημων των αν(θρωπ)ων το

25 γενοσ ἐν υμνοῖς μεγαλυνομεν
 σε τον ανασταντα ἐκ τῶ(ν) νεκρων

¹ But see *Addenda and Corrigenda*, p. xvii.

κ(αι) τοις μαθηταις ωφθεντα θ(εο)ν
 κ(αι) <ε>ι(ρη)νην διδουντα εν υμνοις μεγα
 λυνομεν
 30 σε την μακαρια<ν> εν γυναιξιν·
 κ(αι) ευλογουμενον υπο τον θ(ε)ω
 των αν(θρωπ)ων το γενοσ <εν> υμνοις μεγα
 λυνομεν ~ [[]]
 αυτος ηπας κ(υριο)ς" ενε . .

At right angles to the rest of the text, on the left side :

35 ενε . τησκη . κ(αι) λα . .
 ο εν στρατηλαταις
 ενδοξης μαρτης
 [[X(ριστο)ς εκ νεκρων εκικερτι]] τριη
 μερον απαρχης γεναμενος
 40 τους κεγεννημ
 μενοις

2. 1. τῷ. 3. 1. καμίνῳ. 4. 1. δροσίσαντι. οἱ παῖδες. 6. 1. τῷ. σῶ P, cf. 23. 7. 1. προσηλωθέντι. ἐκουσίως.
 8. 1. παθόντι. 9. 1. τῷ. 10. 1. ἀναστάντι. 11. 1. ὀφθέντι. παῖδες. 12. 1. εὐλογεῖτε. 13. 1. θεοτόκε. χαῖρε ἡς.
 14. 1. πλατυτέρα. οὐ(ρα)νῶν. ἡγίαστη (v. note). 15. 1. παῖδες. 17. 1. συνάντησιν. 18. 1. X(ριστο)ῦ Ἰη(σο)ῦ.
 22. 1. ὑψηλοτέραν τῶν χερουβίμ. 23. 1. στ(αν)ρωθέντα. 27. 1. ὀφθέντα. 28. 1. διδόντα. 31. 1. ἡὺλογημένην.
 τοῦ θ(ε)οῦ. 34. 1. εἶπας. 37. 1. ἐνδοξος μάρτυς. 38. 1. ἐγγέρεται. 39. 1. ἀπαρχή. 40. τοῖς γεγεννημένοις
 (see note).

METRICAL TRANSCRIPTION.

(ll. 2-16 and 23-33).

A

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ
 τῷ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι {ἐκεῖ} ὀφθέντι ἐν φλογὶ
 καὶ ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ δροσίσαντι τὸ πῦρ
 ὃν οἱ παῖδες ὑμνοῦντες ἔλεγον
 Εὐλογεῖτε τὰ ἔργα κυρίου.

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ
 τῷ ἐν {τῷ} σταύρῳ προσηλωθέντι ἐν σαρκὶ
 καὶ ἐκουσίως παθόντι δι(ὰ) ἡμᾶς
 ὃν οἱ παῖδες ὑμνοῦντες ἔλεγον
 Εὐλογεῖτε τὰ ἔργα κυρίου).

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ
 τῷ τριήμερον ἀναστάντι ἐκ {τῷ} νεκρῶν
 καὶ ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ ὀφθέντι μαθηταῖς
 ὃν οἱ παῖδες ὑμνοῦντες ἔλεγον
 Εὐλογεῖτε τὰ ἔργα κυρίου.

F

Χαῖρε Θεοτόκε ἀγνή {τοῦ Ἰσράηλ}
 χαῖρε ἧς μήτρα πλατυτέρα οὐρανῶν
 χαῖρε ἁγία ἐπουράνιε θρόνε
 ὃν οἱ παῖδες ὑμνοῦντες ἔλεγον
 Εὐλογεῖτε τὰ ἔργα κυρίου.

B

Σὲ τὸν σταυρωθέντα κύριον
 διὰ σωτηρίαν πάντων ἡμῶν
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ γένος
 ἐν ὕμνοις μεγαλύνομεν.

Σὲ τὸν ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν
 καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς ὀφθέντα Θεὸν
 καὶ εἰρήνην διδόντα
 ἐν ὕμνοις μεγαλύνομεν.

Σὲ τὴν μακαρίαν ἐν γυναιξίν
 καὶ ὑμολογημένην ὑπὸ {τὸν} Θεοῦ
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ γένος
 ἐν ὕμνοις μεγαλύνομεν.

ll. 1-19. 'With God's help. For the *Benedicite*, in the first plagal tone.

Glory to God in the highest, to Him that was seen there, in Babylon, in the flame and in the furnace, that quenched the fire, whom the Children praised, saying, 'Bless ye the Lord, ye works of His'.

Glory to God in the highest, to Him who in the flesh was nailed upon the Cross and who of His own will suffered for us, whom the Children praised.

Glory to God in the highest, to Him that after three days rose from the dead and was seen in Galilee of His disciples, whom the Children praise, saying, 'Bless ye the Lord, ye works of His'.

Hail, pure Mother of God, the Holy One of Israel, hail, thou whose womb is greater than the heavens: hail, O sanctified one, O Throne of the heavens, of Him whom the Children praised, saying, 'Bless ye the Lord, ye works of His'.

They have desired the conversation, the resurrection of Jesus Christ . . .'

ll. 22-4. 'For the *Magnificat*. Her who is higher than the Cherubim. . . .

Thee, the Lord who wast crucified for the salvation of us all, we, the race of men, magnify in hymns.

Thee, who didst rise from the dead and wast seen as God of Thy disciples, who givest peace, we magnify in hymns.

Thee, that art blessed among women, whom God hath favoured, we, the race of men, magnify in hymns. Thyself hast said, Lord . . .'

ll. 36-41. 'Thou, among the Captains the glorious martyr . . . after three days didst become the firstfruits of them that had died.'

1. ἦχος πλ(αγίος) á: in full (v. Sophocles, *Lexicon*, s.v.) ἦχος πλάγιος τοῦ πρώτου τόνου.

The reference here is to the Song of the Three Children or Eighth Biblical Ode.

4. προσίσαντι (l. δρ-): the only meanings given in the lexicon are *sprinkle*, *refresh*. Here it must = *extinguish*, an easy extension of the first meaning. Cf. Daniel iii. 50 καὶ ἐποίησε τὸ μέσον τῆς καμίνου ὥσεί πνεῦμα δρόσου διασπρίζον, and, for the following words, ibid. 24 ἐν μέσῳ τῆς φλογὸς ὑμνοῦντες τὸν θεὸν καὶ εὐλογοῦντες τὸν κύριον, with v. 1 . . . ἐδόξαζον καὶ εὐλόγουν καὶ ἐξύψουν τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ λέγοντες κτλ.

7. ἐκουσίως παθόντι. Cf. the trope of the Coptic Church for the morning office on Maundy Thursday, printed by Baumstark, *Oriens Christianus*, 3rd Series, iii (1930), p. 75, l. 5 ὁ παθὼν καὶ ἀναστὰς διὰ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν. Baumstark remarks that this trope is not earlier than the seventh or eighth century, i.e. it may be contemporary with our text.

8. At the end of this line there is no mark of abbreviation after the ν : it is probable that a whole line has fallen out, i.e. that the scribe intended to write $\psi|μνοῦν(τες) \text{ ἔλεγον κτλ.}$

9. Cf. P. Bouriant, 4, 21 (an acrostic hymn): $\tauριήμερος \delta' \epsilon\gammaερθε\acute{\iota}ς$ of Jonah as a type of Christ. I have regarded $\tauριήμερον$ here as adverbial; but perhaps we should emend to $\tauριημέρω$.

13. For the expression at the end of this line, cf. H. A. Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, IV, xxxv (Leipzig, 1853), p. 119 (= C. A. Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies* (Cambridge, 1884), p. 295), $\tau\etaν γὰρ σ\etaν μ\acute{\eta}τρην θρόνον \epsilon\piο\acute{\iota}ησε καὶ τ\etaν σ\etaν γαστέρα πλατυτέρα οὐρανῶν ἀπειργάσατο$.

$\tauου Ι(σρα)ηλ$ may have been added above $\alpha\gammaνη$ by the scribe owing to a confusion between $\alpha\gammaνός$ and $\alpha\gammaιος$ (cf. l. 14); it is evident that he did not understand the metre of the hymns he was copying. $\alpha\gammaνὴ τοῦ 'Ισράηλ$ does not appear to be otherwise known; and even if it is regarded as a variant on $\alpha\gammaιος τοῦ 'Ισράηλ$, the latter would hardly be applied to the Virgin. Probably the words are best deleted.

14. $\nuγιαστας$. It is not clear what the scribe intended to write here. Possibly he may have had in his mind the $\eta\gammaιασμένε ναέ$ which precedes the lines quoted in the note on l. 13; but no such word as $\alpha\gammaιαστός$ is known to the dictionaries. The metre requires a trisyllabic word, i.e. $\alpha\gammaία$; and it is probable that the scribe, misled by the η s of the preceding line, wrote the genitive for the nominative and then added the definite article.

15. v. note to l. 13 and cf. the translation of the 'Argānona Weddāsē by S. Euringer in *Oriens Christianus*, 3rd Series, III (1930), p. 259, *O Thron der Gottheit*. $\epsilon\piουράνιε$ here means rather of the heavenly one than celestial, as some antecedent to $\delta\upsilonν$ must be understood.

18. I can make no sense either of the end of this line or of l. 19. The mark of abbreviation of the κ can be clearly seen, but otherwise the letter resembles an η as much as a κ and, if the abbreviation stroke were ignored, $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu'$ would be the easiest reading. In l. 19 after $\piρολαβ$ comes a dot, which I have taken for an \omicron , followed by a curved stroke which might be a carelessly formed ν . If some other explanation could be found for these letters, the closeness of $\sigma\alpha$ to $\muαρια$ would suggest $\Sigmaμαρία$.

19. It is possible that a reference was intended here ($\piρολαβοῦσα$) to Mary Magdalene's visit to the tomb before that of the other disciples.

22. The allusion here is to the opening words of the *Magnificat* $\muεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν κύριον$; the scribe then started with the initial words of the $\epsilon\acute{\iota}ρμός$, but did not continue with it. For this cf. the 'Praise of Mary', printed at the end of the *Liturgy of St. Chrysostom* (Brightman, *op. cit.*, p. 399): $\tau\etaν τιμιωτέρα τῶν χειρὸν βίμ καὶ ἐνδοξοτέρα ἀσυνκρίτως τῶν σεραφίμ, τ\etaν ἀδιαφθόρως Θεὸν Λόγον τεκοῦσαν, τ\etaν ὄντως θεοτόκον, σε μεγαλύνομεν$. The refrain of the hymn in the papyrus— $\epsilon\nu \psi\muνο\iotaς \muεγαλύνομεν$ —is frequently found as the last line of heirmoi and tropes of the ninth ode (Höeg).

23. $\sigma\tau(αυ)ρωθέντα$: for the contraction cf. Traube, *op. cit.*, p. 119; this particular form is not quoted, but $\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\theta\eta$ is found in the Sinaiticus, as is also $\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$. There is a close parallel to this line in the *Octoechos*, p. 92 $\sigma\epsilon\nu τὸν σταυρωθέντα χριστὸν . . . μεγαλύνομεν$. This line has only 9 syllables instead of the 10 demanded by the heirmos and the corresponding lines in the other stanzas: perhaps $\epsilon\sigmaταυρωμένον$ should be read.

26. The metre demands that the $\tau\omega(\nu)$ before $\nuεκρων$ be kept; but $\epsilonκ νεκρων$ is the regular expression which must be read in l. 10 (cf. the metrical transcription), short of eliding the ι of $\alpha\nuασταντί$.

34. Perhaps a reference was intended here to John ii. 19–20.

35. I am indebted to Dr. Zuntz for pointing out to me that the reference here must be to St. Theodore of Amasea (variously known as Tyro or Stratelates), who was martyred under Diocletian and was later very popular with the monophysites of Egypt, cf. an article, 'Der Drachenkampf des heiligen Theodor', by W. Hengstenberg in *Oriens Christianus*, ii, pp. 244 sqq.

39. A reminiscence of 1 Cor. xv. 20 $\nu\upsilon\acute{\nu}\iota δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγγέρται ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων$. $\Gammaεγεννημένοις$ is clearly a corruption derived from $\kappaεκοιμημένων$.

467. LITURGICAL FRAGMENT.

Acquired in 1917.

15 × 17 cm.

Sixth century.

This text, written in a fine sloping uncial of the sixth century, consists of two columns, the first incomplete, on a sheet of parchment. Not much can be missing—at most five lines at the beginning and, allowing for a small margin, not more than two at the bottom of col. i. It seems to be more in the nature of a chant than a prayer, though there is no metrical element present. The stops, accents, &c., are in the first hand; there are the usual theological contractions. Over some vowels a single dot has been written; the purpose both of them and of the marks over *άει* (l. 8) and *έλεησον* (l. 11)—too small to be accents by the standard of that over *θεότητι*—is obscure. Below col. ii a few letters written by a second hand in very faded ink can be traced. The text itself is written in a clear brown ink on the hair-side. The verso is blank. Provenance unknown.

Col. i.

.
[. . . . σ]υναχθῆτε
[πα]ντες οι πιστοι
[]ι δοξαζωμενος
[τ]ης αγιας τριαδος
5 εν μιαν θεότητι
και ανυμνη[σατε]
τον παν[
.

Col. ii.

και άει παρθενο[υ]
Μαρίας και χορ[ον]
10 τον ου(ρα)νιον και
έλεήσον ήμας κ[α]
τα το μεγα σου έλ[ε]
ος . . . ναι κ(υρι)ε
— . . . — . . . —

(2nd hand) *αν* . . . *ας*

3. 1. δοξαζόμενος. 5. 1. μιᾷ.

11. 1–13. 'O come together, all ye faithful (that he may be) glorified in the one godhead of the Holy Trinity and sing hymns unto him that is (?) Saviour of all men, (? son of God) and of Mary ever virgin: and unto the heavenly choir. And have pity on us according to thy great mercy, yea (do so), O Lord.'

1. For the opening cf. the first line of the 'Prayer of Romanus' (quoted by Maas in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 17, p. 310): Δεῦτε πάντες πιστοὶ προσκυνήσωμεν. Δεῦτε might perhaps be supplied in l. 1 here.

3. At most there is room for two letters: only if the line projects is there space for [ινα η]ι.

9. χορ[ον] with ουρανιον in apposition can be read as the object of ανυμνη[σατε] if the reconstruction followed in the translation be adopted: otherwise we might read χορ[ον] τον ουρανιον (l. τῶν οὐρανίων) and regard both that and Μαρίας as dependent on a verb such as δεόμεθα.

11–13. Cf. Psalm l. 3 ἐλέησόν με, ὁ Θεός, κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου.

13. ναι, κ(υρι)ε. These words, somewhat strangely employed here to complete the chant (if chant it is), occur three times in St. John's Gospel, in each case as a protestation, e.g. xxi. 15 (Peter replies to Jesus' question) Ναί, Κύριε· σὺ οἶδας ὅτι φιλῶ σε. Here ἐλέησον may be understood.

468. LITURGICAL FRAGMENT.

Acquired in 1917.

7 x 8 cm.

Sixth century.
PLATE 6.

A fragment of a Coptic MS., probably already torn and discarded before being re-used, with Greek texts in different hands on either side. The Greek runs at right angles to the Coptic and across what was the upper margin of the page; hence it is unlikely that the whole MS., of which this was a page, was rewritten. The hand on the recto (the hair side) is of the bold but regular slanting type usual in this period; that on the verso is cruder and in paler ink. Both texts are clearly religious in character and probably liturgical, though they may have been meant for private use; I have not traced any quotation from Old or New Testament. Punctuation in both texts is by a middle point, followed by a small gap.

(a) Recto.

	]. φο κυριου ανεστ[. .]. εκ
νεκρων	]ν κ(αι) του θανατ[ου] το κρα
τος	] . κατηρτησαντα —
	]τεπκντες οι λαοι μεταν
5	]ιαν επι τυ μνημην
	]ρον πανενδοξον
	]δρομον τον καλο(ν) .
	]αμενοι[.] κ(αι) τον ιδω
	] . ην κατ[α]φρονει
10	]ν βασιλ[εια]ν και δει
	]κα [.]αν
	] ψ []ησ.

1. κς P. 2. κ P and in 8. 7. καλϥ P.

2. The]ν might be the final letter of νέκρων, but it seems likely that the line was a little longer than this.

3. 1. καταρτίσαντα.

4. There is no sign of abbreviation above this line and the reading is plain (γι could be read for π). Was π(ροσ)κ(υ)ν(ουν)τες intended?

5. 1. τή(ν) or perhaps τ(ο)ϥ = τίνος.

7. The metaphorical use of δρόμος is not uncommon in the Bible, but I have not found it coupled anywhere with κάλος.

(b) Verso.

].
	] . . [ . . . . . ]ιος
	] τον [. .] . [.] θιου σου
	]αθλησ[.] . βασιλε
5	] . ρ . α . πν[. .]νος . αγι

ου]οτα ο υπερ του λα
]ξοι ες των αγιον
] . σ τεξε ο σταυροθις
]μων κ(υρι)ε δοξα σοι

7. l. τὸν. 8. l. σταυρωθεὶς. 9. κ̅ε P.

9. It is tempting to fill the gap after σταυρωθεὶς with [υπερ η]μων: but it seems probable that the lines were longer.

469. EPISTLE AGAINST THE MANICHEES.¹

Acquired in 1920.

Frag. (a) 35.7 × 19.5 cm.

Late third century.
PLATE 2.

This remarkable text, an elaborate and reasoned attack on the religion of Mani, might be classed either as a document or as a work of literature; in this respect it presents a parallel to St. Paul's letters and (to adopt Dr. Deissmann's distinction) should perhaps be designated an *epistle*. Herein lies, in fact, its interest; we find here information of a kind which we should otherwise get only through a literary source, in the shape of an actual letter. That it was in fact sent and intended for a definite recipient or recipients, there need, I think, be no doubt; the papyrus (which is of double thickness) has been folded, regularly, nine times, and though no part of the address survives, its natural place would have been on the back of the beginning, not the end of the text. Further the hand, though regular and of an official type, is certainly no book-hand, and the orthography (e.g. παλιν in l. 12, ασπασασθαι in l. 40) is characteristic of documents of the period. But as evidence of its semi-literary character we should note that the text has been read over by a *corrector* (see l. 16), that punctuation is regularly found, and that in some cases the rough breathing has been added. But, formal considerations apart, it is obvious that the letter is not an ephemeral composition, as the carefully planned quotations from the N.T. show, but an authoritative, and in a sense, an official document; there is nothing personal either in the body of the document or in the final greeting, and in one place the writer uses the first person plural (l. 35). The style is in part modelled on that of the Pauline letters (cf. the numerous quotations from them), but—as far as we can judge from our text—shows no sign of having been written to a particular person, though no doubt written for a particular occasion, or even to a particular community. The theory that, to my mind, agrees best with the evidence is that this was a general epistle, drawn up in the chancery of the bishop of Alexandria, and circulated by him to the churches in his diocese.

It does not, however, I think, belong to a class of documents two specimens of which are already known to us from the papyri²—that is the Festal Letter (ἐπιστολαὶ ἑορταστικαί

¹ I am much indebted to Prof. A. D. Nock and Mr. C. R. C. Allberry for their advice and assistance, particularly for references to the literature of the subject, and to Mr. T. C. Skeat who read over the text with me in its early stages.

² BKT. VI, pp. 87 sq. (P. Berol. 10677), ed. Schubart-Schmidt, with a valuable discussion of the subject, between A.D. 690 and 730: and P. Grenf. CXII, A.D. 577 or 672 (the editors of P. Berol. 10677 prefer the later date).

or γράμματα πασχάλια). The nominal intention of these letters was to announce the date of Easter (we know from Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 25, that the Alexandrian and Palestinian churches kept the feast on the same day and exchanged γράμματα relating to it), but at a comparatively early date this letter developed a special type of its own, and was used as an occasion for a homily on some point of morals or theology. Eusebius (*H. E.* vii. 20) attributes the origin of this practice to Dionysius of Alexandria (A.D. 247–265), a collection of whose festal letters was read by Eusebius as a source for his own history. At first sight the theory of a Festal Letter might seem to suit the requirements of our text; these letters were often devoted to pressing church problems of the day, and were meant for circulation in Egypt (the notice of the date still went to other churches, but without the appended homily). The objection to this theory—and it seems to me final—is that the Festal Letters always concluded with communicating the date of Easter, and of this there is no trace in our papyrus. A departure from the norm in such a case is hardly likely, and we must conclude that this letter was sent out on some other occasion.

The text unfortunately gives no hint as to what this occasion was, nor of the general date. The verso is blank, and our sole evidence is the handwriting. This is of a well-known type, regular and official in style, though not as stereotyped as chancery hands, and common near the end of the third century; to this period (approximately A.D. 275–300) I would assign the text. A date in the early fourth century cannot be excluded, but the hand seems to me less formal and more free than fourth-century hands. It bears an obvious resemblance even to a text as early as P. Flor. 254 (A.D. 259), and I should prefer, with due reservations, to assign it to the reign of Diocletian. In looking for an author for our epistle we might reasonably think of one of the bishops between the death of Dionysius (A.D. 265) and the succession of Athanasius¹ to the see of Alexandria in A.D. 326. The bishops of Alexandria in this period were Maximus (265–282), Theonas (282–300), Peter (300–311), and Alexander (311–326). If it be granted then that the letter was written in the later part of the third century and originated in the episcopal chancery, we might assign it to the episcopate of Theonas. One other consideration gives a slight support to this dating. In A.D. 296 (for the date see the references in E. Stein, *Geschichte des Spät-römischen Reiches*, p. 121) Diocletian, in reply to a letter of Julianus, proconsul of Africa, ordered a general persecution of the Manichees; the sect was to be ruthlessly suppressed and its leaders, with their books, to be burnt.² Diocletian's persecution was inspired by political and social considerations, particularly by fear (it seems) of Persian influence, and his edict evinces no knowledge of the sect's tenets or practices; but his attitude to these *exsecrandae consuetudines* and *abominandae scripturae* might well have been endorsed by the author of 469. We may reflect that at the time when this edict was promulgated, the Church was at peace with the Empire (a letter from Theonas to Lucian, a *Cubicularius*, on the duties of a court official is extant), and if Church and State, each from its own point of

¹ If, palaeographical grounds apart, the letter were as late as the time of Athanasius and were written by him, we should expect to find some traces of it in his works.

² Text in Haenel, *Corpus Juris Romani Ante-Justiniani*, ii, p. 44. The genuineness of this 'edict' has been doubted, but it is accepted not only by Stein and Seeck, but also by P. Alfarc, *Les Écritures Manichéennes* (Paris, 1918), p. 61. The fact that it shows no detailed knowledge of Manichaeism should count rather in its favour (given the early date) than against it. Whether it actually was an edict or not is irrelevant for this discussion; the important fact is that governmental action was taken at this time in the neighbouring province of Africa.

view, had recently recognized the danger with which the religion of Mani threatened them, we might well expect them to take simultaneous action. Diocletian's edict was addressed to the proconsuls of Africa; but we may be sure that there were Manichaeans in Egypt before there were any in Africa. The recent discoveries of the Manichaean Coptic papyri at Medinet-Mâdi in the Fayûm have shown us how well established the sect was in middle Egypt in the fourth century, nor is it any longer surprising that one of their earliest opponents should come from Lycopolis.¹ There is, then, nothing improbable in the suggestion that Manichaeism constituted a sufficient danger at the end of the third century in Egypt to merit an attack such as we find in this letter, and in that case the Church may well have made an informal alliance with the State in the prosecution of this campaign; indeed, the requirements of loyalty alone (since Christians were then loyal to the Government) might have secured the opposition of the Church to the new sect. Unfortunately there is no evidence as to the provenance of our text; it is worth recalling that some fragments of Manichaean literature in Syriac, dated not later than the fifth century, have been found at Oxyrhynchus,² but if, as there is good reason for thinking, the sect was spread widely throughout Egypt, the existence of a Manichaean community at Oxyrhynchus is not a convincing reason for assigning our papyrus to that site.

Mani died, a prisoner of Bahram I, king of Persia, in A.D. 276;³ our text is probably the earliest anti-Manichaean document we possess, and evidence of the rapid spread⁴ of the new religion (or sect, as perhaps it should be called).⁵ The works of other early opponents of Manichaeism—of Serapion of Thmuis, of Alexander of Lycopolis,⁶ of Titus of Bostra—and, to a less extent, the *Acta Archelai*, show more interest in the cosmogony and theology of the Manichee than in its practical effects and moral consequences. I cannot find that these writers have been influenced by our text;⁷ but that is hardly surprising, for if we are right in thinking this letter is a pastoral charge, questions of morals or practice would naturally take precedence over theological arguments. (It is quite possible that, at the date when this letter was written, very little was known of Mani's system.) The document which in general tone it resembles most (for verbal resemblances see the notes) is another disciplinary document of the Church—that is, the Formula of Abjuration, which converted Manichees had to recite before being admitted to the Byzantine

¹ Cf. C. Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, *Ein Mani-Fund in Aegypten* (S.B. Preuss. Akad., 1933, pp. 4–90). The authors discuss the history of Manichaeism in Egypt in the light of the new evidence: it appears that Lycopolis (Assiut) was probably the propaganda centre for Egypt of the sect. It seems first to have taken root in the town of Hypsele in the Thebais.

² Published by D. S. Margoliouth in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 2 (1915), pp. 214–16, and re-edited, with a revised text, by F. C. Burkitt in *The Religion of the Manichees*, pp. 114–19: they are now in the Bodleian Library (Syr. d 13 P, 14 P).

³ This is the date given by W. Henning in *Ztschr. der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 90 (1936), p. 6; for an earlier view see H. H. Schaeder, *Urform und Fortbildungen des Manichäischen System*, p. 71.

⁴ See note 1 above. Is the *ἑγγραφον* referred to in l. 30—presumably a Greek, not Coptic work, as the writer says he is quoting from it—a copy of one of the original works of Mani which about this time, or not much later, were translated into Coptic by Mani's disciple(s) in upper Egypt? Cf. Schmidt-Polotsky, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁵ For this question, v. Burkitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 sq.

⁶ Schaeder (*op. cit.*, p. 100), following Brinkmann (preface to Teubner ed., p. xiii), thinks he wrote c. A.D. 300: but it rests on a general statement—*οὐ πάλαι μὲν ἐπεπόλασεν ἡ τούτου καινοτομία κτλ.*—which hardly constitutes 'sichere Zeichen' (Schaeder).

⁷ It might be thought to have some affinities with the work of Serapion of Thmuis, an Egyptian bishop, who was in close contact with Alexandria: but as R. P. Casey's recent *Study of his Adversus Manichaeos* shows (*Harvard Theological Studies* XV, 1931), Serapion differs from the writer of our epistle in style, vocabulary, kind of attack, and knowledge of Manichaean writers (he does not quote a single Manichaean work); nor are his Biblical quotations the same.

Church (Migne, *P. G.* i, 1461-71). In its present form this document is thought to be not earlier than the sixth century,¹ but in substance it is probably much earlier.

When our text begins in l. 12 (ll. 1-11 are too fragmentary to yield any connected sense) the writer is engaged in refuting, by appeal to the Bible, the teaching of the Manichees on marriage; arguing, apparently, that the Manichees do not distinguish between the divine blessing on marriage and the divine condemnation of fornication and adultery, he cleverly turns the tables on his opponents by reasoning (with the support of Jeremiah iii. 9) that the terms 'fornicators and adulterers' include those who 'worship the creation'. Thus the Manichaeon attitude to the material world is condemned as a form of idolatry, and as convincing evidence of the 'madness' of the sect (see note on l. 18) he quotes the ἀπολογία πρὸς τὸν ἄρτον (see note on l. 25). This apparently concludes his attack on the specific teaching of the Manichees; but the writer takes the opportunity of warning his readers against the false doctrines and moral depravity of the Manichaeon missionaries, particularly of the ἐκλεκταί. In the best style of early theological controversy he alludes to their alleged μυσάγματα and then passes on to another subject. The epistle ends with an elaborate benediction and farewell consisting of a cento of Pauline phrases ingeniously strung together.

Biblical phrases are preceded by no introductory formula (except perhaps in l. 47) nor are quotation marks inserted in the margin. No doubt a considerable part of the epistle is lost in which the writer may have dealt with theological questions; we must allow for at least one column before col. i, though perhaps not for more, for if the roll were much more than double its present length it would hardly have been folded (there are nine folds in the existing fragment) but sent as a roll. It is unlikely that more than a few lines are missing between col. i and col. ii at the top of the latter; the break in the argument is not considerable, and the papyrus is unlikely to have been very much higher than it is now. Fragment (b) I have been unable to place; in all probability it belongs to col. i, but it does not appear to touch fragment (a) at any point, nor can I fit it in with the initial lines of col. i. Its subject is clearly the divine judgement upon sinners; it may have belonged to the introductory part of the epistle.

The first hand appears to be responsible for the lines of contraction, punctuation, &c., though a *corrector* inserted the κρινέι of l. 16. The papyrus is light in colour and of good quality; the ink black, or rather grey, as it has been heavily mixed with water. At the foot of col. ii, near the edge (the last line of col. ii corresponds with l. 20 of col. i), a different hand has written in very pale ink and thin characters αἱ γιοι (see note to l. 40). Otherwise the bottom of this column and the margin is blank.

Frag. (a).

Col. i.

[	c. 45	letters missing	]δ[.]
[		"	] . του
[	c. 40	"	]ν και ου κυ

¹ v. P. Alfarc, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

- [c. 40 letters missing]το εσθ οτε
 5 []ως υπο
 []ρεν το κακον
 []ν θελοντες
 []ς ζηλος
 []ηλον ειναι
 10 []π]ονηρια
 [c. 27]κ[c. 12]καλα εποι
 [ησαν]· αυτοι παλειν οι Μανιχ[ει]ς κατα
 [ψευδονται του γαμου ως ο μη] γαμων καλως ποιει· τον μη γαμουν
 [τα κρεισσον ποιειν Παυ]λος λεγει οτι δε ο μοιχευων και ο πορ
 15 [νευων κακος δηλον εκ τω]ν θειων γραφων· αφ ων μανθανομεν
 [οτι τιμιος ο γαμος πορνο]υς δε και μοιχους ^{κρινει} μεισι ο θ(εο)ς η δηλον
 [εστιν αυτον κατακρινε]ιν και τους την κτισιν σεβαζομενους
 [οιπερ εμοιχευ]σαν το ξυ[λ]ον και τον λι[θ]ον· ου μην
 [αλλα κολαζειν τον ποιου]ντα το πονηρον προστασσει· ουτως
 20 [εαν δε ευρεθη ανηρ η γυνη] εν μια των πολεων σου ων κ(υριο)ς ο θ(εο)ς
 [διδωσι σοι ος ποιησει το πονηρον ε]ναντι κ(υριο)υ του θ(εο)υ σου· προ-
 σκυνων τω
 [ηλιω η παντι των εκ του κοσμου β]δελυγμα εστιν κ(υρι)ω τω θ(ε)ω [σ]ου
 πας ποιων
 [ταυτα βδελυγμα εστιν κ(υρι)]ω τω θ(ε)ω· και οι Μανιχισ δηλονοτι προσκυ
 [νουσι την κτισιν] εν ταις επαοιδαις βδελυγμα εστιν κ(υρι)ω

Col. ii.

-
 25 [. ουδ]ε εις κλειβα[νον εβαλον αλλ]ος μοι ηνε[γκε ταυτα εγω]
 αν[α][ι][τιω]ς εφαγον· οθεν εικοτως εσ[τ]ιν γνωναι οτι πολλης μανι
 ας πεπλη[ρ]ωνται οι Μανιχισ· και μαλιστα επι και η προς τον αρτον
 αυτων απολογια εργον εστιν αν(θρωπ)ου πολλης μανιας πεπληρω
 μενου· ταυτα ως προειπον εν συντομω παρεθεμην απο
 30 του παρε[μ]πεσοντος εγγραφου της μανιας των Μανιχεων·
 ιν επιτηρωμεν τους εν απатаις και λογοις ψευδεσι εισδυνογ
 τας εις τας οικιας· και μαλιστα τας λεγομενας παρ αυτοις εκλεκτας
 ας εν τιμη εχουσιν δια το δηλονοτι χρηζειν αυτους του απο
 της αφεδρου αιματος αυτων εις τα της μανιας αυτων μυσα
 35 γματα· α μη θελομεν λαλουμεν· ου ζητουντες το εαυτων
 συμφορον αλλα το των πολλων ινα σωθωσιν· παρασχοι
 τοιγαρουν ο παναγαθος και παναγιος θ(εο)ς ημων απο παντος
 ειδους πονηρου απεχομενων υμων· σωζεσθαι υμων ολοκλη
 ρον και το πνευμα και την ψυχην και το σωμα αμεμπτως
 40 εν τη παρουσια του κ(υριο)υ ημων Ι(ησο)υ Χ(ριστο)υ· ασπασασθαι αλλη-
 λους

εν αγιω φιληματι· ασπαζονται υμας οι συν εμοι αδελφοι·
ερρωσθαι υμας εν κ(υρι)ω ευχομαι αγαπητοι καθαρευοντας
απο παντος μολυσμου σαρκος και πνευματος

Frag. (b).

.
] . [.]ει . . . ι[
45]τα αιτια τα[
εξολ[εθρευεσθαι α[μαρτωλους?
]του νομοθε[του
]ηρημενης[
]νη εξολεθ[ρεν
50 πον]ηριων ταυτ[ων
.

5. üπο P. 12. 1. πάλιν. 16. 1. μισεί. $\overline{\theta s}$ P *et passim*. η i.e. ἡ. 20. $\overline{\kappa s}$ P *et passim*. 23. 1. Μανιχείς
and in 27. 25. 1. κλίβανον (κρ-). 27. 1. ἐπέι. 28. $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron\nu}$ P. 30. ἐγ'γραφου P. 31. ἰν P.
32. αυτοις, υ corr. from λ. ἐκλεκ'τας P. 36. ἰνα P. 37. $\overline{o\ \pi\alpha\nu\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron s}$ P. 38. ὕμων P and in 41, 42.
40. $\overline{\Gamma\upsilon\ X\upsilon}$ P. 1. ἀσπάσασθε.

12-43. 'Again the Manichees speak falsely against marriage saying that he does well who does not marry. Paul says that the man who does not marry does better; but that the adulterer and fornicator are evil is manifest from the Holy Scriptures, from which we learn that *marriage is honoured* by God, but that *He abominates fornicators and adulterers*. Whereby it is manifest that He condemns them also that worship the creation who . . . *have committed adultery with stocks and stones*. Not but what God commandeth us to chastise the man that doeth evil: in these words *If there be found man or woman in one of the cities which the Lord thy God giveth thee that has wrought wickedness in the sight of the Lord thy God and hath worshipped the sun or any of the host of heaven, it is an abomination unto the Lord thy God. Every one that doth these things is an abomination unto the Lord thy God*. And the Manichees manifestly worship the creation (? and that which they say) in their psalms is an abomination to the Lord . . . (saying) "Neither have I cast it (sc. the bread) into the oven: another hath brought me this and I have eaten it without guilt". Whence we can easily conclude that the Manichaeans are filled with much madness; especially since this "Apology to the Bread" is the work of a man filled with much madness. As I said before, I have cited this in brief from the document of the madness of the Manichaeans that fell into my hands, that we may be on our guard against these who with deceitful and lying words steal into our houses, and particularly against those women whom they call "elect" and whom they hold in honour, manifestly because they require their menstrual blood for the abominations of their madness. We speak what we would not, *seeking not our own profit, but the profit of many that they may be saved*. May therefore our God, the all good and the all holy, grant *that you may abstain from all appearance of evil* and that *your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ*. Greet one another with a holy kiss. The brethren with me greet you. I pray that you may be well in the Lord, beloved, *cleansing yourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit*.'

8. ζηλος: probably used in a bad sense as in 1 Clem. 3 ζῆλος καὶ φθόνος (cf. also Cyprian, *de zelo et livore*).

13. The sense of this passage is plain, although the supplement is open to doubt. The dictionaries quote no example of καταψεύδεσθαι with the double construction (genitive followed by ὡς); it is, however, found with κατηγορεῖν which might perhaps be read here. To leave out του γαμου would leave the line short: perhaps ὡς πας ο μη might be read. For a similar attack on the Manichaean attitude to marriage v. the Formula of Abjuration, Migne, *P.G.* 1. 1465 ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν ἀσχημοσύνην κατεργαζομένους, οὐ μόνον ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας, τὸν δὲ γάμον ἀποβαλλομένους, καὶ τῆς νενομισμένης πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας συνουσίας ἀπεχομένους, ἵνα μὴ παιδοποιήσωσι, φασί, καὶ ψυχὰς εἰς τὸν βόρβορον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ψυχῶν καταγάγωσιν.

14. Cf. 1 Cor. vii. 1 sqq. For κρείσσον cf. v. 9 κρείττον γάρ ἐστὶν γαμεῖν ἢ πυροῦσθαι.

15. A stronger word than κακός seems to be demanded by the tone of the passage: κατάρατος, otherwise suitable, would make the line rather long.

16. Cf. Hebrews xiii. 4 τῆμος ὁ γάμος ἐν πᾶσι, καὶ ἡ κοίτη ἀμίαντος· πόρνους γὰρ καὶ μοιχοὺς κρινεῖ ὁ Θεός. δέ instead of γάρ after πόρνους has some MSS. authority and the sentence is frequently quoted (e.g. by Clement and Eusebius) in this form; it is probably found here because it suits the writer's argument better than γάρ. For the variant μισεῖ there is no authority. The use of this verse in the present context may perhaps support the view that it is a declaration (i.e. supply ἐστίν) rather than a precept.

17. Cf. Rom. i. 25 οἵτινες μετήλλαξαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ψεύδει, καὶ ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα.

18. The quotation is from Jer. iii. 9 (cf. ii. 27). In their own place the words refer to the worship of idols; the writer of this epistle ingeniously employs them to bridge the transition between his attack on Manichaeism on marriage and that on their attitude to the material universe. This attitude was determined by the Manichaean belief that among the elements of Darkness which largely compose the world, particles of the Divine Substance, i.e. the Light, are intermingled: consequently the devout Manichee, although holding that the world, on the whole, was evil, had to guard against injuring any of the particles of the Light; hence his respect not only for all living creatures but for vegetable life also (see F. C. Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees* (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 16 sqq., and note to ll. 25 sq.). In its extreme form this involved the view that whoever ate bread, himself became bread, and whoever killed a mouse, became himself a mouse (*Acta Archelai*, ed. C. H. Beeson, p. 16). Cf. also the passage from Albiruni, *Chronology*, p. 190, 16, quoted by Holl in his note to Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66, p. 65, 14 sq.: *He absolutely forbade his followers . . . to hurt the fire, water, and plants*, and Faustus (as quoted by Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xx. 2): *quapropter et nobis circa universa et vobis similiter erga panem et calicem par religio est.*¹

There is a passage in the Formula of Abjuration which converted Manichees had to recite before entering, or re-entering, the Church closely parallel to the present text (printed among the *opera dubia* of Clement of Rome, Migne, *P. G.* 1. 1465): ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς τὸν Χριστὸν λέγοντας εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον καὶ εὐχομένους τῷ ἡλίῳ, ἢ τῇ σελήνῃ, ἢ τοῖς ἄστροις, καὶ ὅλως αὐτοῖς ὡς θεοῖς προσέχοντας καὶ φανοτάτους θεοὺς ἀποκαλοῦντας.

20 sq. These lines are a free adaptation of Deut. xvii. 2–3 ἐὰν δὲ εὗρεθῇ ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πόλεών σου, ὧν κύριος ὁ Θεός σου δίδωσί σοι, ἀνὴρ ἢ γυνὴ ὃς ποιήσει τὸ πονηρὸν ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ σου, παρελθεῖν τὴν διαθήκην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐλθόντες λατρεύσωσι θεοῖς ἑτέροις καὶ προσκυνήσωσιν αὐτοῖς, τῷ ἡλίῳ ἢ τῇ σελήνῃ ἢ πάντι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. . . . The reconstruction here is, of course, doubtful, but there is no room for ἀνὴρ ἢ γυνή in l. 21.

22. βδελυγμα κτλ., cf. Deut. vii. 25, xvii. 1.

πας ποιων κτλ., cf. Deut. xviii. 12.

24. Although the general sense of this passage is plain, no supplement consistent with the length of the line has suggested itself to me; ἐπει ο λεγουσιν (or αδουσιν) would be too long. ἐπαιδοι: most probably a reference to the Manichaean hymns (among the Manichaean papyri recently found in Egypt is a book of Psalms, see Schmidt-Polotsky, *op. cit.* pp. 31 sq.), although the writer may well have had in mind the ἐπαιδῶν ἐπαιδῆν of Deut. xviii. 11, cf. Migne, *P. G.* 1. 1468 ἀναθεματίζω καὶ καταθεματίζω πάντας τοὺς Μανιχαίους, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῶν βίβλον καὶ πᾶσαν εὐχὴν, μᾶλλον δὲ γοητεῖαν.

25 sq. At this point the author of this epistle quotes in an abbreviated form (v. l. 29) the formula recited by the Manichaean elect before they ate the bread provided for them by the Hearers and which they regarded as sacramental (Burkitt, p. 83). This was already known to us from the third century *Acta Archelai*, both in the Latin translation (Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, ed. C. H. Beeson, *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, Bd. 16, Leipzig 1906, p. 16) and from the Greek of Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 66, (ed. K. Holl, *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*, Bd. 37, Leipzig 1931, p. 65, 4 sq.): the relevant passage in the Greek reads as follows: καὶ ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἐσθίειν ἄρτον, προσεύχονται πρῶτον, οὕτω λέγοντες πρὸς τὸν ἄρτον, οὔτε σε ἐγὼ ἐθέρισα οὔτε ἤλεσα, οὔτε ἐθλιψά σε, οὔτε εἰς κλίβανον ἔβαλον· ἀλλὰ ἄλλος ἐποίησε ταῦτα καὶ ἡνεγκέ μοι· ἐγὼ ἀναιτίως ἔφαγον. The name for this formula ἀπολογία πρὸς τὸν ἄρτον appears to be new. The reason for this ἀπολογία was of course the belief that sowing and reaping and even the breaking of bread involved, no less than the taking of life, injury to the particles of the Light imprisoned in matter (Burkitt,

¹ Cf. also the letter *ad Iustinum Monachum* I ascribed to Marius Victorinus (Migne, *P. L.* 8, 999): *caroque haec nostra quam abditis cum herbis et graminibus quae diligitis, and again, quod carnem oderis et gramina veneraris.*

p. 23). This practice (cf. the passages quoted from Cyril of Jerusalem and Titus of Bostra by Holl, *op. cit.*, p. 65) involved cursing those who had been responsible for the making and baking of the bread: *εἴτα δεξάμενος εἰς χεῖρας τὸν ἄρτον (ὡς οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν μετανοήσαντες ἐξωμολογήσαντο), ἐγὼ σε οὐκ ἐποίησα, φησὶν ὁ Μανιχαῖος τῷ ἄρτι καὶ κατάρas πέμπει εἰς τὸν ὕψιστον καὶ καταρᾶται τὸν πεποιηκότα καὶ οὕτως ἐσθλεί . . . ἐγὼ σε πυρὶ οὐκ ὤπτησα' ὀπτηθείη ὁ ὀπτήσας σε* (Cyril of Jerusalem, vi. 32). Cf. also the Formula of Abjuration, Migne, *P. G.* 1, 1465 *ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς βρωμάτων ἀπέχεσθαι προστάτουντας ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν εἰς μεταλήψιν*.

26. *μανίας*: the pun on the name of Mani was too obvious to be avoided, but *μανία* is in any case the regular term for 'heresy', see Sophocles, *Lexicon*, s.v.: cf. Serapion of Thmuis, *Adversus Manichaeos* (Migne *P. G.* 40, 903) . . . *ἡ τοῦ Μανιχαίου προήλθε μανία*.

30. Unfortunately there is nothing to show from what Manichaean treatise the writer was quoting: it must have been an early one, possibly a work of Mani himself, and perhaps contained besides the formula here quoted, no doubt accompanied with regulations for the life of the devout Manichee, the *ἐπαιδαί* mentioned in l. 24.

Liddell and Scott cite no instance of *ἐγγραφον* = *document, treatise* in the singular; but *ἐγγραφα* is quoted from OGI. 335. 137.

31. Cf. Alexander of Lycopolis (Teubner ed.) 8, 14 *ὅπου γε καὶ τινες . . . μετέστησεν ἡ τοιαύτη ἀπάτη τῶν λόγων*.

32. The Manichaean 'elect' included women as well as men, also known as the *παρθένοι* (cf. Burkitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 46, and, for a further note on the organization of their encratite societies, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxxv (1934), p. 360). It is perhaps worth noting that *ἐκλεκτή* occurs in the New Testament in 2 John 1 and 13 *ἀσπάζεται σε τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς*, cf. also an inscription published by F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, iii, p. 177 *Βάσσα παρθένος Λυδία Μανιχέα*. They were also named in the Formula of Abjuration (Migne, *P. G.* 1, 1468) *ἐπισκόπους, πρεσβυτέρους, ἐκλεκτοὺς καὶ ἐκλεκτάς*.

In view of what follows in our text it is worth while noting the testimonial to the morals of the Manichaean 'elect' given by St. Augustine (Burkitt, p. 46, note 2) who, since he had had personal experience of their practices, was probably better informed than the writer of this letter; another comparatively early writer, St. Ephraim, accuses them of nothing more than idleness (Burkitt, p. 45).

34-5. *του της αφεδρου αιματος*. For the ritual and magical use of menstrual blood cf. H. J. Rose's note on Martial, Epigr. iv. 64, 16 in *Classical Review*, xxxviii (1924), p. 64. For its use in magic and charms see P. Oslo 1, 323 with Eitrem's note *ad. loc.* From the connexion with magic probably came the (alleged) use of it attributed to some heretical sects. This may be compared with the magical powers attributed to virginity (see E. Fehrle, *Die Kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (Giessen, 1910), *passim*, and A. D. Nock in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 23 (1925), pp. 25 sq.). There appears to be no other evidence attributing such practices (doubtless without foundation) to the Manichees. The source of the attribution of this practice to the Manichaeans may perhaps be found in Migne, *P. G.* 1, 1465 *ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς τοῖς οἰκείοις οὔροις ἑαυτοὺς μάλινοντας, καὶ μὴ ἀνεχομένους τὰς ῥυπαρίας αὐτῶν ὕδατι ἀποπλύνειν, ἵνα μὴ μολυνθῇ, φασί, τὸ ὕδωρ*. Failure to comply with (or rather a deliberate denial of) the regulations of Deut. xv. may have given handle to the kind of attack we find here.

A similar practice is attributed to a Gnostic sect in *Pistis Sophia* 147 (389) (see C. Schmidt's introduction to his translation, p. lxxii), from which the author of that work vehemently disassociates himself. Probably Epiphanius (*Pan.* 26, p. 284) is referring to the same sect.

34. *μυσαγματα*: Liddell and Scott quote only one instance of this noun, from Aeschylus, *Supplices* 995. *μυσάζω*, however, = *μυσάττομαι*, is cited from Aquila's version of 1 Kings (xxv. 26), and *μυσάττομαι* (though not found in Sophocles' *Lexicon*) is used by Christian writers, e.g. John of Damascus, *Passion of St. Artemius* (Migne, *P. G.* 96, 1292 B) *ταῦτα . . . τὰ ἀνοσιουργήματα μυσαχθέντες οἱ θεοί*, and in the Formula of Abjuration, *op. cit.*, 1, 1469 *ἀνάθεμα . . . μυσάττομένοις τὸ βάπτισμα*.

35. *οὐ ζητοῦντες κτλ.*: adapted from 1 Cor. x. 33 *μὴ ζητῶν τὸ ἑμῶντοῦ σύμφερον, κτλ.* It may be noticed that the papyrus reads *σύμφερον* (with *Σ*ABC*), not *συμφέρον* (*Σ³DEFGKLP*), the more common word.

36. *παρασχοι*: *παρέχειν* = *to allow to*, with the infinitive, occurs, though rarely, in Classical Greek; the nearest parallel to the present ('grant that') appears to be a Christian letter of the fourth century, P. Oxy. 1682, 6 *ἡ μὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόνοια παρέξει τὸ μετὰ ὀλοκληρίας σε τὰ οἰκεία ἀπολαβεῖν* (quoted by Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary of the Greek N.T.*, s.v.). There is no instance of its use with the infinitive in the N.T.

37. *τοιγαρουν*: in Classical Greek generally stands first in the sentence (the only exceptions given by

θεοτοκε : τα[ς εμας ?]
 5 ικεσιας : μη παρ-
 ειδης εμ περιστασει
 αλλ εκ κινδυνου
 ρυσαι ημας''
 μονη δε[
 10 ηρυλον [

5. 1. παράδης. 6. 1. εν.

4-9. 'Mother of God (hear) my supplications: suffer us not (to be) in adversity, but deliver us from danger. Thou alone . . .'

1-3. Dr. G. Zuntz, to whom I owe the supplement in l. 2, suggested that ἀποδ[οσιν δος] might be read here; but the traces do not resemble an α; in l. 2, less probably, some form of πλάνη might be recognized. και for κατ cannot be read.

6. περιστασει: not Biblical in this sense, but common in later Greek, v. Sophocles' Lexicon, s.v.

7. Cf. the liturgical fragment from Dêr-Belyzeh, printed by Wessely in *Les Plus Anciens Monuments du Christianisme* ii, *Patrologia Orientalis* xviii, p. 424, I recto, ll. 11-12:

ἀλλ[ὰ ῥῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἀ]
 πὸ παντὸς κινδύνου.

471. CHRISTIAN AMULET.

Acquired in 1920.

14.3 × 8.6 cm.

Fifth century.

It is fairly clear that this brief prayer, written across the fibres of a small piece of papyrus in a large cursive hand, was used as an amulet; the papyrus was twice folded so that it could easily be worn or carried on the person, and although it differs from most amulets in being less specific and personal (for a discussion of the types of amulets, cf. Wessely, *Patrologia Orientalis*, xviii, pp. 399 sqq.), the language leaves little doubt of the purpose for which it was intended.

+ Ἁγίον ελεον αγαλλ[ι]ασεως
 κατα πασης αντικειμενης
 ενεργιας και προς εγκεντρισμον
 της καλλιελεαυ σου καθολικη(ς)
 5 κ(αι) αποστολικη(ς) εκκλησια(ς) εφτε
 αμην +

1. 1. ἔλαιον. 3. 1. ἐνεργείας. 4. 1. καλλιελαίου.

'The holy oil of gladness against every adverse Power and for the grafting of Thy good olive tree of the catholic and apostolic Church. . . . Amen.'

1. Cf. Psalm xlv (xlv). 8: Heb. i. 9.

2. αντικειμενη ενεργεια. Cf. the phrase in the Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis (F. E. Brightman in *J.T.S.* 1, p. 264, l. 28), κατανικῆσαι λοιπὸν τὰς προσβαλλούσας αὐτοῖς ἀντικειμένας ἐνεργείας.

3-4. A reminiscence of Romans xi. 17-24, cf. especially 24 εἰ γὰρ σὺ ἐκ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐξεκόπης ἀγριελαίου καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ἐνεκεντρίσθης εἰς καλλιέλαιον. The prayer is, then, one for the extension of the Church by the grafting of the Gentiles (ἀγριέλαιος) onto the good olive tree (καλλιέλαιος) of the Church.

καλλιελαιος. The word first occurs in literature in the passage of the Romans cited above: but καλλιέλαιος ἐλαία is found in P. Cairo Zen. 125. 3, καλλιελαία, and in a collection of Jewish-Christian sayings of the third or fourth century published by O. Plasberg (*Strassburger Anekdotia*, A.P.F., ii, p. 219), who discusses the use of καλλιέλαιος by the Fathers.

5. I can find no explanation of the letters at the end of this line: the only one about which there can be any doubt is the φ (and that is a very likely reading): if ι be read it is difficult to interpret the preceding stroke. εσιτε = ἔσται is barely possible.

II. LATIN TEXTS

472. LATIN LITURGICAL FRAGMENT.¹

Acquired in 1917.

15.6 × 18.7 cm.

Third to fourth century.
PLATE 3.

This text, written on both sides of a leaf—the final leaf—from a papyrus codex, presents peculiar difficulties. It is unique of its kind, for among the numerous Christian papyri from Egypt only three Latin fragments are known,² all of them biblical, all of them considerably later than our text; and the majority of the Greek liturgical papyri belong to a much later age.³ Further, outside the world of the papyri there are hardly any Latin liturgical texts with which 472 can be compared and from which it can be elucidated; apart from the Latin text of the so-called *Egyptian Church Order*⁴ (ed. E. Hauler, *Didascaliae Apostolorum Fragmenta*) our knowledge of the wording of the Latin liturgy before the sixth century is slight. The difficulty is enhanced by the forced and abrupt style and somewhat exotic vocabulary in which the text is written; the first twenty-two lines appear to consist, for the most part, of nouns and adjectives almost unrelated by verbs, and the writer passes from subject to subject with great rapidity. It would be easier if we could assume that much of the text was missing at the beginning of each line; but not only are the last three lines of the verso practically complete as they stand, but to assume that the lines were longer would involve the breadth of the book being greater than the height, and among the numerous fragments of codices recovered from Egypt there is no certain example of this.⁵ As it is, the codex was nearly square; a page, with the lines restored on the analogy of ll. 20–22, and allowing for an inner margin equal in width to the outer, would have measured *c.* 18 cm. in breadth, while in height the papyrus measures 18.7 cm. In view of the absence of parallels and of the inherent difficulty of the text, all supplements, except the most obvious, have been reserved for the notes.

That the text is Christian may be regarded as certain, and that it is part of a liturgical codex there can be little doubt. Both form and content make against the view that it is a private composition; such texts (to judge from the Greek examples from Egypt) are generally crude both in script and orthography, and on single sheets of parchment or papyrus,

¹ For helpful suggestions and discussions, and not least for references on this text, I have to thank Dom André Wilmart, O.S.B., the Rev. S. L. Greenslade, and the Rev. E. C. Ratcliff.

² These are recorded by Schubart in his list of Biblical papyri, *Einführung*, pp. 473–4: there is now a plate and description of the Aberdeen St. John in E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, ii. no. 118.

³ An exception is P. Würz. 3 (third century): see also P. Lond. Christ. 4 (fourth–fifth century).

⁴ For discussion of this and cognate works see R. H. Connolly, *The So-Called Egyptian Church Order* (Texts and Studies, viii. 4).

⁵ A probable exception, which, if it is one, would prove the rule, is 53; here the peculiar format is explained by the requirements of a school text-book.

while not only is the general appearance of 472 that of a well written manuscript, but the *subscriptio* on the recto makes it clear that it is a leaf from a codex. The language, also, suggests a public rather than a private occasion. But to assign it to a definite place in the liturgy is not so easy; nor is this in itself surprising. For example, P. Lond. Christ. 4, of the fourth or fifth century, is related only very slightly to extant liturgies; and, more important, it is known that at this period liturgical prayers did not follow fixed forms, and African bishops may well have enjoyed some degree of freedom in the composition of their masses.¹ That the text formed a part of the Eucharistic Anaphora is improbable, although the use of *manducare* in l. 3, which has eucharistic associations, and the concluding part of the text with the prayer for the breaking of bonds(?) and for illumination, resembling that found in the eucharistic prayer of the *Egyptian Church Order*,² might favour this hypothesis. But the text as a whole supports Dom Wilmart's view that it contained formulae for the blessing of the new fruits (or possibly exorcisms for the same occasion), followed by a prayer for those who offered or received the fruits. (The concluding prayer, however, seems to be more general: see note to l. 33.) He would compare it with the prayer, probably of the early third century, for the same occasion preserved in *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* (Hauler, p. 115), which is perhaps worth quoting in full:

Gratias tibi agimus, Deus, et offerimus tibi primitivas fructuum, quos dedisti nobis ad percipiendum, per verbum tuum enutrients ea, jubens terrae omnes fructus adferre ad laetitiam et nutrimentum hominum et omnibus animalibus. Super his omnibus laudamus te, Deus, et in omnibus quibus nos juvasti, adornans nobis omnem creaturam variis fructibus per puerum tuum Jesum Christum dominum nostrum, per quem tibi gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

This is far simpler both in thought and expression, and lacks the theological overtones of our text; but that the prayers should be much elaborated is, so Dom Wilmart writes, precisely the foreseen case for the third or early fourth century. One other short passage—a prayer at the offering of cheese and olives—is worth quoting as it approximates more nearly to the style of our text (Hauler, *op. cit.*, p. 108): *Fac a tua dulcitudine non recedere fructum etiam hunc olivae qui est exemplum tuae pinguidinis, quam de ligno fluisti [sic: ?fudisti] in vitam eis qui sperant in te.* It is perhaps best to conclude that some such prayer as that quoted above formed the basis of our text, but that it has been elaborated in a manner and for a purpose which it is not easy to understand.³ The one clear allusion in the papyrus, that to the *Saeculum Octavum* which we know as a periphrasis for the millennium (see note to l. 29), is not very illuminating, since the fact that the same idea is found in St. Augustine is hardly sufficient to indicate an African origin for our text.

One of the peculiarities of the text is that there appears to be no quotation nor even any certain recollection of any biblical passage.⁴ That the language should not resemble that of the Vulgate is not perhaps surprising, since 472 is probably considerably earlier; but I have been able to find few, if any, convincing parallels to the vocabulary of our text in the

¹ On local diversities of liturgical use, cf. L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (trans. McClure), pp. 54 and 86.

² Connolly, *op. cit.*, p. 107, note 1, who quotes from Hauler, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-7: *ut mortem solvat et vincula diaboli dirumpat et infernum calcet et justos inluminet*, with which ll. 25-6 and 35-6 should be compared.

³ Mr. Ratcliff points out that the *dies faboris* of l. 11 might be an allusion to the Christian Sunday; this, if correct, taken with the offering of the fruits, would suggest that 472 was a prayer to be said on Sunday.

⁴ See note to l. 28.

works of early Christian Latin writers. But it may be regarded as fairly certain that our text is not an original Latin work; there are several indications that it is based on a Greek original—the use of *puer* to translate *παῖς*, where we should expect to find *filius*, the spelling of *euangelium* (though this might mean no more than that the scribe was more accustomed to Greek), perhaps, too, the use of *hilara imago*, and above all the expression *pater nostri*. A search in the *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica* has not revealed a single other instance of this expression and, as it occurs twice, in l. 7 and l. 22, it can hardly be a scribal error; the only explanation open to us seems to be that it is a literal translation of *πατὴρ ἡμῶν*. Perhaps those whose knowledge of Greek Christian literature is better than the writer's will be able to throw some light on the source of this text.

The date assigned to this papyrus rests solely on palaeographical evidence. The text is written in a careful and regular hand, which, though it contains a large proportion of cursive and 'mixed' letters, is clearly in its general effect a literary and not a documentary hand. With seven letters (*a, e, f, p, t, u*, and *x*) the uncial form is used, *c* and *q* are of the mixed type, and the rest are cursive, although side by side with the cursive forms of *h* (*h*) and *n* (*n*) the capital forms (*H*) and (*N*) are also found. (Both forms of *n* can be seen in l. 3 in the plate.) *o* is of the very small cursive type, and the *g* resembles the Greek numeral ς . In this text the formation of the later uncial hand can be observed. The closest parallel to this hand, both in general appearance and in the forms of some of the letters, is the Oxyrhynchus Epitome of Livy,¹ and to this text an approximate *terminus ante quem* can be assigned. On the verso of the Livy Epitome is written the Epistle to the Hebrews (P. Oxy. 657), in a hand which the editors say may well go back to the first quarter of the fourth century: not only were the documents found with this papyrus of the third century, but so were also the cursive documents with which the verso was patched before it was used for the Epistle to the Hebrews. There is, then, a very strong presumption that the Livy Epitome was written near the end of the third century.² Although the Livy Epitome has only five cursive forms as against ten in 472 (in itself by no means an indication of late date), the general resemblance is such as to allow us to assume that the two MSS. are not separated by any long period. Consequently, a date in the later third or early fourth century is indicated for our text. The orthography on the whole is good, though an unnecessary *i* has been added to *magnificentia* in l. 22, and the difficulty of the language tempts one to assume occasional scribal errors (see note to l. 14); as is normal, *b* often usurps the place of *v*. The only case of ligature is *li* in l. 2 and l. 40. There are no contractions or abbreviations except *-ē* at the end of l. 2 (see note); and punctuation is only found once in l. 6; elsewhere a short space is left at the end of the sentence. As the leaf is the final one of the codex, we might hope to find the title of the work; but the space below *explicitus* has been left blank; numeration also is absent. Unfortunately there is no evidence as to the provenance of the papyrus.

Verso.

[.]entia nostra dulcissi

[ma]rabilis gloria fruges vivē

¹ P. Oxy. 668 = Milne, P. Lit. Lond. 120: plate and description now in E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, ii. no. 208.

² 'The Livy Epitome must therefore have been written not later than the fourth century, and it more probably belongs to the third' (P. Oxy. 668, introd.): see also P. Oxy. 1379, introd.

[tes]e manducantes qui g[e]ne
 [.]es prudentiae victus
 5 [.]ofius hilara imago be
 [.] frementum. v[iv]ens
 [.]rietate pater n[o]stri
 [.]qui vincendum propri
 [.]. em imago missio [p]rinci
 10 [.]. t qui sui facies sanct[us]. ul[us]
 [.]ano[u]uor dies laboris [o]b[la]tio
 [.]tium aquarum haustu[us] cen[us]
 [.]vaggelium vitae spes et [. . .]lesit
 [.]nus sancta virginis pater. t[er]re
 15 [.]i aspectus et auditus et pedib[us]
 [.]nibus pa[te]re dextra tu es intus
 [.]a nostri tu sanctum caelum
 [.]super noba terra et nostrorum
 [.]um aspector et designatio bene
 20 [dic]t[i]onis tra[he]a nobis mittitur
 [me]m[or]iae adfice tui m[i]n[us]men tua domi
 [ne] magnific[en]tia tua pater nostri lux

Recto.

alma qui gubernas a[us]
 hanc negotiationem h[ab]e
 25 liberas huius humana[us]
 lorum dissolutione o[mn]i
 tiō luc[is] recta vi sancti[us]
 ascensu occasioque ad[us]
 strum seculum o[mn]i[us]ctay[us]
 30 dominus qui inter nos e[st]
 bor puer designatus le. h[ab]e
 [. . .]ma[us]. impotentum qui v[er]it[as]
 [.] morbos animarum. [us]
 [.] qu[i] in oblibione sunt esu[us]
 35 e[st] mentibus nostris clari. o. [us]
 ras formas nostras caligine et inf[er]i
 rmitas. . [us]
 [. . .]cas nos[us]. [us]
 ere >(—

— ^ —

40

explicitus >—

1. Perhaps *oboedi]entia*.

2. *mi]rabilis*, or *admir]abilis*, is perhaps the most likely supplement. At the end of the line *nivē* =

nive(m) might be read, but though the abbreviation stroke in Latin would generally indicate *-em*, rather than *-en*, the latter is so commonly abbreviated in Greek papyri that *vive(n)[tes]* is probably to be preferred. *v* is also palaeographically preferable to *n* and yields a better sense. *Vivens*, which was used of the olive and the vine (see Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v.), might well be used of *fruges*.

3. Perhaps *laet[e]*. *Manduco*, a word rare in classical Latin, is frequently used of the Eucharist by Christian writers, e.g. Hauler, *op. cit.*, p. 107; *Passio S. Perpetuae*, 4 in *Texts and Studies*, i. 2, p. 68, l. 8 (early third century). The word, however, is by no means confined to this use; cf. *Didascalia* (Hauler, p. 79, 1) *tanquam nolentes manducare et bibere*, and Philaster (ed. F. Marx, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. xxxviii), 112. 8 *bona terrae manducabitis*, which suggests that *terrae* might be supplied here: cf. below, l. 18.

4. Here the sense may be *we who partake of the sustenance (provided by) Thy wisdom*.

5. It is difficult not to suspect that the text is corrupt here. The reading, apart from the *o* (in place of which *u* might be read), is quite certain. The only Latin nouns ending in *-fius* given by Gradenwitz in his *Laterculi Latini* are *rufius* and *colefius*, neither of which need be considered, and there is no adjective ending in *-fis*; nor is *-phius* a more helpful termination.

hilara imago suggests St. Paul's use of *εἰκών*, e.g. 1 Cor. xi. 7 (ἀνὴρ) *εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων*, and 2 Cor. iv. 4 (Χρῖστος) *ὃς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, and in Latin, cf. Philaster, 137, 4 *imago dei divina et patris propria*, while *hilara* may have been prompted by the *δόξα* of 2 Cor. iv. 4. But *imago* need not be used in its Christological sense, cf. the *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* (Hauler, *op. cit.*, p. 119, 7) (*Christus*) *faciens imaginem resurrectionis*.

6. It is tempting to emend to *frumentum*, as Wilmart suggests; the reading is certain. After this word is the only stop that appears in the papyrus; elsewhere pauses in the sense are indicated by spacing.

7. The first seven letters of this line are unlike any others in the text; they are faded and appear to be written in a reddish brown ink, whereas the rest of the text is written in black ink. This suggested that the letters were part of a rubric, but no suitable phrase is at hand and on the whole it seems more probable either that the scribe, by mistake, used a different ink or that his pen had run dry and the colour is the result of his scratching on the papyrus with insufficient ink. As a supplement *vivens in sua prop[ri]etate* might be hazarded; if the writer is still referring to the *fruges*, *va[ri]etate* would be more appropriate.

There is a distinct space before the invocation *pater nostri* (for the peculiar form see the introduction).

8. *vincendum*: the second *n* has been written over an *m*. A possible supplement for this and the next line would be *vincendum propri[o filio (or puero) hos]tem (or Sata)nam*; but it is difficult to see where the verb can have stood. *Vincendum propri[asti inimi]cum*, *Thou hast taken unto thyself the conquering of the enemy*, would be difficult, if not impossible, Latin. For *proprius* used much as *ἰδιος* is in the N.T., cf. Hauler, *op. cit.*, p. 101 *quanta quidem Deus secundum propriam voluntatem praestitit hominibus*.

9. *principalis* is used of the Holy Spirit in the prayer at the consecration of a bishop in the Latin version of the *Egyptian Church Order* (Hauler, *op. cit.*, p. 105) *nunc effunde eam virtutem, quae a te est, principalis spiritus, quam dedisti dilecto filio tuo*. The presence of the word *missio* immediately preceding *princi-* here is in favour of a similar use of the word here; but it would be difficult to read *spiritus* into the traces surviving at the beginning of the next line. It may, of course, have been contracted; but the papyrus shows no other examples of contractions of *nomina sacra*. Alternatively, the word may be part of an invocation: cf. *principium princeps* in Commodianus, ii. 49.

10. I have not placed *vultus*—Wilmart's suggestion for the word at the end of this line—in the text, because, although *vul[us]* could easily be read, it does not seem possible that both a *t* and a *u* intervene between the *l* and the *s*, even allowing for some cramping of the letters (not apparent elsewhere) at the end of the line.

11. I have been unable to make any sense of the letters preceding *dies* at the beginning of this line, although most of them are clear enough. Instead of *l, u* (or *v*) might be read, and in the space between it and the following *u* there might be room for an *i* (e.g. *noli*). The letter preceding the *r* (which I originally read as *si*—a possible but less likely reading) is blotted, and the scribe's intention may have been to expunge it, but *anoluur* is not more promising. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the passage is corrupt. Ratcliff points out that *dies favoris* might be interpreted either as (1) the eighth age (see note to *saeculum octavum*, l. 24), or (2) the day of triumph of the good, cf. Malachi iv. 1, or (3) the Christian Sunday. Perhaps the last is the most likely.

After *oblatio* there is room for two more letters; but there are no traces of ink, and the surface of the papyrus does not appear to be rubbed. The scribe, however, does not observe a straight margin; *victus* in l. 4 is similarly set back in the line. There can be little doubt that *oblatio* is to be construed with the subsequent words.

12. Perhaps [*viven*]*tium aquarum*, though there is room for a longer word. After *haustu* there is room for *m* or for two other letters, e.g. *in cen[a]* might be read. For the sentiment cf. Philaster, 20. 1 (*dominum*) . . . *fontem aquae vivae*.

13. The Graecized spelling of *evangelium* is worth notice. The sentence may be compared with P. Lond. Christ. 4, 12-13 σοῦ ἀπὸ στόματος λόγ[os] ὑγίειας [ἐ]στὶν δοτήρ. At the end of the line *is-* is as likely as *ir-*.

14. Either *nus* or *nus* could be read. It is difficult not to believe that an 'e' has fallen out here and that we should read *sancta(e) virginis*.

15. This line is reminiscent of 1 John i. 1 ὁ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὁ ἀκηκόαμεν, ὁ ἐώρακαμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, but it is not easy to fit *pedibus* into any sentence based on this. If the sense is *trodden under foot*, i.e. *rejected of all men* (and the expression, though strong, would not be impossible in the exaggerated style of this text), *pedibus spretus omnibus* may have been the reading of the papyrus; if the line was as long as l. 2, there would be room for two more letters after *pedibus*.

16. The pause after *-nibus* indicates that a new sentence begins here; but although this section of the text is better preserved than the rest, it is no less baffling. The surface of the papyrus on the inner edge of the margin has flaked, and consequently it is possible, though not likely, that space for a couple of letters should be allowed for at the end of this and the next two lines. *Pace dextra tu es intus* is difficult to construe, even if *dextra* be taken as an adjective. *Parte* was certainly not written. Possibly the sentence ran *tu es intus* [*in anim*]*a nostri* (cf. the use of *pater nostri*). The *s* above the *x* of *dextra* has been added by the first hand.

18. *noba* (l. *nova*) *terra* may be an ablative governed by *super*; otherwise *nova terra(e)* in the sense of 'first-fruits' would agree well with the first part of the text.

19. The word *aspector* is so rare (the *Thesaurus* can only quote a single instance, from S. Augustine, *Serm.* 117, 12 *existit imago mox ut aspector extiterit*; the reference is to a mirror) that it seems better to assume a slip on the part of the scribe and read *aspectaret*. On the other hand, the presence of a noun here would make the construction of the sentence, with *nostrorum* and the subsequent word dependent on it, easier.

20. *trabea* is a difficult but, it seems, an inevitable reading; the *r* is mutilated, but could only be replaced by *f* or *s*, neither of which would be possible in this position. *Trabea* is used several times in a metaphysical sense by Christian writers on the Incarnation; Forcellini quotes from Fulgentius, *Sermo de S. Stephano*, *heri rex noster trabea carnis indutus* (see also Ducange, *Glossaria mediae et infimae Latinitatis*). Ratcliff suggests a parallel with the 'robe of the soul' in the Syriac *Hymn of the Soul* (ed. A. A. Bevan, *Texts and Studies*, v. 3: see e.g. pp. 13. 9, 19. 1-146, 25. 72, etc.)

A space of some three letters has been left after *mittitur* at the end of the line.

21. *m(i)numen*, i.e. *munimen*—an easy enough error for a scribe whose Latin was scanty. Between the *m* and the *n* there is only a very little space—probably enough for an *o*. Consequently, the reading *munimenta* (which would also have left an unexplained letter before *doni*) is best abandoned. The sentence would run: *Place it in thy memory; our defence is in thy magnificence, O Lord, in thy kindly light, O Father of us*. *Lux* may be a reminiscence of the φῶς ἐνὶ ᾧ of Isaiah xlix. 6.

22. Read *magnificentia*.

24. *negotiationem*: a word used in the Vulgate, though only in its literal sense of *business, trafficking*. Wilmart suggests that here it might be the equivalent of χειροθεσία; Ratcliff suggests οἰκονομία or πραγματεία = *plan, disposition*, comparing 3 Kings x. 23 αὕτη ἦν ἡ πραγματεία τῆς προνομῆς (sc. of Solomon), or else *work*, as in id. xi. 1. Possibly it might refer to the whole process of the offering and consecration of the fruits. It is worth noting that in Goetz-Gunderman, *Corpus Glossarum Latinarum*, *negotatio* is twice (ii. 133. 18, and 414. 61) glossed by πραγματεία; the use of the latter in the N.T. suggests that *negotatio* here might mean *secular life, the affairs of this world*.

25. Wilmart suggests for this and the next line *liberas huius humana[e creaturae vincu]lorum dissolutione*—which would fit exactly the estimated gap, though a direct object to *liberas* is still wanting. We may compare the *Egyptian Church Order* (Hauler, *op. cit.*, p. 106) *extendit manus cum pateretur ut a passione*

liberaret eos qui in te crediderunt; cf. also the passage from the consecration prayer in the Canons of Hippolytus (*Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica*, i. p. 264 (no. 2562)) *et tribue illi facultatem ad dissoluenda omnia vincula iniquitatis daemonum, et ad sanandos morbos* (cf. *morbos animarum* in l. 33 below).

Another possibility would be to read [*saecu*]lorum dissolutione which might look forward to the *saeculum octavum* of l. 29.

27. Wilmart suggests *sancti[fi]cas*: *Thou sanctifiest with the direct force of Thy light*.

28. Perhaps a reminiscence of Malachi iv. 2 *but unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings*.

29. A letter may have intervened between the *u* and the *m* of *-strum*; more probably it is a case of irregular spacing.

In *saeculum octavum* is to be found perhaps the only certain allusion in the papyrus. In *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (ed. R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ii, pp. 425 sq.) the view is stated that, as the world was created in six days, so world history is to endure for six 'days' or periods, each of 1,000 years; then follows the Sabbath, the seventh day or period of rest, in its turn succeeded by the eighth day, when time ends and there shall be 'neither years nor months nor days nor hours' (*op. cit.*, p. 451). This particular millennial system does not seem to have been widely adopted and references to the eighth day or period (it is probably alluded to in the Epistle of Barnabas xv. 2-8 ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχήν) are scanty until Augustine. In the *De Civitate Dei* xxii. 30, § 5, we read *haec tamen septima erit Sabbatum nostrum* (the seventh day could be identified with the earthly rule of the Messiah), *cuius finis non erit vespera, sed dominicus dies velut octavus aeternus*. There can be little doubt that the *saeculum octavum* of the papyrus is the *dies octavus* of Augustine: it is strange that there is no trace of the words, and little of the idea, in the preceding centuries. In the *Oracula Sibyllina* (ed. Geffcken) ii. 311 and vii. 140 there is a reference to the coming of the Millennium in the eighth αἰών; see the editor's note on the latter passage which suggests that there may be some connexion between this idea and the Gnostic Ἀρχήγονος Ὀγδόας. From a different point of view a passage in Philaster (141, 2 sq.), in which *octavus* is used metaphorically in connexion with *oblatio*, is of interest. The writer is advocating the symbolic interpretation of the Jewish festivals: *octavaque est plenitudinis fructuum pomorumque vindemiae Octobris mensis omnium postrema conlatio et consummatio*, and again (*ibid.* 5): *octiens enim offerentes dona annua et octavae diei quippe dominicae plenitudinem cognoscentes divinique spiritus accincti fortitudine id est summa rerum perfectione praediti, deque hoc exeuntes saeculo, resurrectionis illic promissam gloriam se posse consequi caelestisque dignitatis consortio copulari desperarunt, quod dominus dignatus est dicere tunc eritis sicut angeli iustis omnibus et perfectis hoc praedicens quod et Deus dixit pro octava adnuntians*. With this should be compared a passage in the *Didascalia* (Hauler, p. 75: see also R. H. Connolly's edition (*Didascalia Apostolorum*, Oxford 1929), pp. 236-7, with his note); the author, arguing that the Christian Sunday is prior to the Jewish Sabbath and that it is both the first and the last day (*supra sabbatum*) of an eight-day period, writes *sed et ipse sabbatus intra se cum resupputatur, sabbatum ad sabbatum fiunt octo dies; octava igitur (fit), quae super sabbatum est, una sabbati*.¹

31. *Puer designatus*. The use of *puer* here instead of *filius* is due to Greek influence, as παῖς is commonly used (though not by St. Paul) of the Son of God, e.g. Acts iii. 13 ὁ Θεὸς . . . ἐδόξασεν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν, and, outside the N.T., *Didache* ix ἥς ἐγνωρίσας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς σου. *Puer* is rarely used in this sense in Latin; it occurs in the Vulgate version of Acts iv. 27—*sanctum puerum tuum Jesum*—and several times in the text of *The Apostolic Tradition*, e.g. (Hauler, p. 106) *gratias tibi referimus per dilectum puerum tuum Jesum Christum* and (p. 107) *glorificemus (te) per puerum tuum Jesum Christum*.

Designatus = ὁρισθεὶς, προορισθεὶς. *Designare*, however, is not used in the Vulgate version of the N.T. to translate these words; it occurs in Commodianus, *Apol.* 435 *credere quem libri designant*.

At the end of the line perhaps two letters should be read between the *e* and *h*; *l e g* or *l e t h* (? *lethalis*) would be possible, but the traces immediately before the *h* do not resemble an *e*.

33. The text seems to end with a prayer, first, for those sick in body or mind, then for the dead (*qui in oblivione sunt*) and finally for illumination and release from darkness (? for those making the offering). The prayer in the Epiclesis in the Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis may be compared: καὶ ποιήσον πάντας τοὺς κοινωνοῦντας φάρμακον ζωῆς λαβεῖν εἰς θεραπείαν παντὸς νοσήματος καὶ εἰς ἐνδυνάμωσιν πάσης προκοπῆς (text in

¹ On the importance of the number eight in Babylonian astronomy and astrology (cf. the eight towers of the temple of Belus, Herodotus I, 181) see A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischer Geisteskultur* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 43, 107 sq., 150.

Brightman, *Journal of Theological Studies*, i. (1899), p. 106). Cf. also the conclusion of P. Wurz. 3. verso, 13 sq. τοὺς δὲ ἀρρωστοῦντας τοῦ λαοῦ σου θεράπευσον, τ[οὺς] ἀσθενοῦντας ἴασε (l. ἴασαι) and (l. 18) ἱατρὸς ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, for which cf. also P. Lond. Christ. 4. 9-10.

36. Cf. Cyprian, *Ep.* 76. 7 *ut de istis quoque tenebris et laqueis mundi nos quoque vobiscum integros Deus liberat.*

39. Perhaps [*miser*]ere—unless the scribe kept to the Greek rule of dividing the word before the consonant.

40. *Explicitus*: it is interesting to find this written in full without suspension, as it has been held that the correct expansion of *exp̄c.* is *explicit*, not *explicitus* (so apparently Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie*, no. 23). The correct explanation is given elsewhere and by W. M. Lindsay, *Palaeographia Latina*, ii, p. 21, who mentions that *explicitus* is also found in the Leyden Priscian.

473. SALLUST, HISTORIES.

Acquired in 1917. Oxyrhynchus.

13.8 × 18.4 cm.

Second to third century.
PLATE 3.

Shortly after I had been able to establish the identity of this papyrus, on the verso of which is the Greek astrological treatise, 527, by the coincidence of l. 18 with Hist. I, frag. 83 (ed. B. Maurenbrecher),¹ it came to my notice that another fragment of the same roll existed among the unpublished papyri from Oxyrhynchus, in the possession of the Egypt Exploration Society. It was obviously desirable that the two texts should be published together; and since the Committee of the Society have generously given me permission to make use of their text, it has been printed below as (2). The two fragments do not join; but the similarity both in subject matter and script of both the Greek and the Latin texts leaves no doubt that they come from the same roll (or perhaps from different rolls of the same work written by the same scribe). The Latin text is a magnificent example of Rustic Capital writing, not unlike P. Ryl. 42, recently identified by Dr. E. A. Lowe as Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, 31, 7.² It is, however, somewhat earlier than this, as the Greek text on the verso can be assigned to the third century and so sumptuous a manuscript is not likely to have been used very soon for a second text. The lay-out of the text was on a scale comparable to the script; the lower margin measures 7 cm. in depth, and a space of 4 cm. was left between the columns. The number of lines to a page cannot be exactly estimated, but it was probably not less than 20. There is no punctuation; but *apices*³ are found three times in (2), and a dash is occasionally used to mark the division of a word. The only example of ligature is *-um* in *algosum* (l. 8) and *infidum* (l. 35).

The position of (2) may be regarded as certain; its subject is clearly the ethnology and past history of Sardinia, of which it is known that Sallust treated at the beginning of Book II of the *Histories*. Further, it is highly probable that ll. 42-3 contain an extant fragment (II. 7) dealing with the story of Daedalus's flight to Sardinia. The position

¹ Unless otherwise stated, all references to the *Histories* are given from this edition.

² *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, ii, no. 223 (with plate).

³ Or perhaps accents; cf. C. H. Roberts in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xxi. 202, on the accentuation in the *Antinoë Juvenal*.

of (1), the Rylands fragment, is by no means so sure. It describes a successful attack from the sea on a land force described as *genus trepidissimum Graecorum et Afrorum semermium*, who have shortly before killed some allies of the attackers; the latter are successful, and after burying their allies and plundering the neighbourhood, they proceed on their way to Spain. So far the papyrus; and were this all, the whole incident might be referred to the withdrawal from Sardinia of the defeated forces of Lepidus, under the leadership of Perperna, to join Sertorius in Spain. But the lost line of this column of the papyrus is supplemented by an extant fragment (I. 83) which adds to the words *perrexere in Hispaniam* two more, *an Sardiniam*. Unless we are prepared to assume either that the words *perrexere in Hispaniam* occurred twice in the same book of the *Histories*, or that the text is corrupt—and neither alternative seems very probable—the words cannot refer to Perperna's withdrawal.¹ But in the first two books of the *Histories* there are two other episodes to which this fragment might be attached. The first is the flight of Lepidus from Italy after the failure of his *coup d'état*; to this incident fragment I. 83 is referred by Maurenbrecher and Dietsch.² But our authorities mention no naval battle; we are only told that Lepidus was utterly defeated by Pompey near Cosa in Etruria and then fled to Sardinia.³ There is, however, a statement in Exuperantius (3, 26) which, because it does not apply to the battle at Cosa, is referred (Maurenbrecher, *Proleg.* 14, note 2) to the previous attempt of Lepidus in 78 B.C.: *sed in Etruriae litore commisso proelio coeperat Lepidus esse superior per armatam multitudinem quae odio rerum Sullanarum se Lepidi partibus applicarat*. If we may assume (and it is not a difficult assumption) that this refers, not to an incident of 78 B.C., but to an engagement fought by Lepidus after his defeat at Cosa, we may note that it meets some of our requirements. A battle has been fought on the sea shore; Lepidus has had an advantage, but clearly does not sustain it (i.e. is forced to sail away); further, his forces are described as *armatam multitudinem*, perhaps in contrast with those of the enemy (cf. the *armati* and *semermium* of the papyrus). It remains to identify the *genus trepidissimum Graecorum et Afrorum semermium*. It is possible that this phrase might be used by an opponent (and Sallust's sympathies might well be with Lepidus and against the Senate) of the crews of a Roman fleet; at this time the ships were manned partly by Greeks of the allied cities of South Italy and partly by *libertini*, among whom might be men of Carthaginian or Phoenician descent. It is true that there is no other evidence that a fleet was used against Lepidus (and on this interpretation we should have to suppose that the crews of the ships were on the shore when Lepidus attacked them), but a fleet had been sent under P. Servilius in the previous year against the pirates, and there is nothing impossible in the use of a fleet on this occasion. On this view (1) would probably belong to *Histories* I; but as one book of the *Histories* may well have proved too extensive for a single roll, especially when written on this scale,

¹ Other objections to this view then arise: (a) there is no record of any engagement fought by Perperna on this occasion; (b) it is very doubtful whether the description *genus trepidissimum Graecorum et Afrorum semermium* could apply to the inhabitants of Sardinia, however mixed their descent; (c) it seems likely that in the Greek text (2) precedes (1) and, as the Greek is written the reversed way up, this involves that, in the Latin, (1) the description of the fight would precede (2) the description of Sardinia.

² *Sallusti quae supersunt*, ii. p. 33.

³ On the authorities for these events, see Maurenbrecher, *Prolegomena*, pp. 14 sq., and his edition of the fragments of the *Histories*, pp. 20 sq.

they may both have been part of the same roll. It must be admitted that this view involves a number of assumptions which have little evidence to support them.

The alternative theory, first suggested to me by Professor Last, would relate this fragment to the adventures of Sertorius in 81 B.C. Near the end of 83 B.C. Sertorius had left Rome to take up his position as governor of Hispania Citerior, and when in the next year the Sullan general, Gaius Annius, crossed the Pyrenees and advanced against him, Sertorius retired on Cartagena and thence with three thousand men took ship for Africa. He landed on the Mauretanian coast, but the natives (described by Plutarch as *βάρβαροι*) attacked his men as they were fetching water and inflicted heavy losses on him. He set sail for Spain again, but was driven off and, together with some Cilician pirates who attached themselves to him, attacked the island of Pitoussa (Iviza). Here he was defeated by Annius's fleet, and after various adventures (irrelevant for our purposes) later in the same year landed again in Mauretania, this time to free the inhabitants from the rule of a certain Ascalis, who had been placed on the throne by Cilician pirates. He achieved his purpose and apparently spent some time in the country before accepting the invitation of the Lusitanian ambassadors to lead a rising in Spain.¹ Two considerations in favour of this theory should be noted; it has been established (see Maurenbrecher, *Prolegomena*, 27-9) that Sallust devoted a good deal of space to the career of Sertorius, whom he greatly admired, and that Plutarch drew extensively on the *Histories* for his Life of Sertorius. Unfortunately there are objections to associating our fragment with either of these two incidents. If it relates to Sertorius's first visit to Mauretania, it is difficult to explain the words *Graecorum et Afrorum semermium* in this context, nor does Plutarch mention a counter-attack by Sertorius's troops, nor would one expect to find *socii* used of his detachments. On the other hand the description quoted above might well be applied to the Cilician pirates with their native allies, who were Sertorius's opponents on his second visit to Mauretania; but after the war was over Sertorius stayed some time in the country, and this will not suit the *perrexere in Hispaniam* of the papyrus. In spite of these difficulties it may well seem more probable that (1) relates somehow to Sertorius's adventures than that it treats of the flight of Lepidus; in the absence of definite evidence it is best to leave the question open.

Sallust seems to have enjoyed a certain degree of popularity in Egypt; he is found more often in the papyri than any other Latin author, except Cicero and Virgil. In addition to P. Ryl. 42, another fragment of the *Bellum Jugurthinum* has been published by P. Lehmann in *SB. Preuss. Akad.* 1934, no. 4, and the *Bellum Catilinae* is represented by P. Oxy. VI. 884 and P. S. I. 1. 110. For valuable help in the preparation of this text I am indebted to Professor H. M. Last and Professor E. Fraenkel.

TRANSCRIPTION A.

(1) P. Ryl.

.
[.] g [.]
[.] e . æ . [.]

¹ Our chief authority for these episodes is Plutarch's *Life of Sertorius*, cc. 6 sq.; see A. Schulten's article on Sertorius in *RE.* 2. 1 (2 Reihe), 1746 sq.

[.] . aṭarō . . [. . .] . [. .]
 [. .] ertusireetdolorisin
 5 talibussociisamissisar
 matinavibuseivolant
 scaphisautnaḡopars
 [. .] uppibusinlitusaḡgosum
 [. .] npulsisnequeeosdiuti
 10 [. .] ṣhostesmanseregenus
 [. .] epidissimumgraecō
 [. .] umetafrorumsemermi
 [. .] mdeinsociisprofortu
 [. .] aḡumatisetomnibus
 15 [. .] aeusuierantexpropin
 [. .] correptisubinulla
 [. .] sessetpatrandiincepti
 [. .] . rexereinhispaniam 20 . [

(2) P. Oxy. *sine numero*.

Frag. (a).

Col. i

.
 [. . .] ert[
 [. .] ertuṣ[
 [. .] ṣiph[
 [. .] rdi[
 25 [. . .] ri[

Frag. (b).

.
 [.] aṇiolaḡ[.]
 [.] mincertumtra
 [. . .] aṇiri[. .] isantestimo-
 [. .] umadscitaegentisba
 30 [. . .] óscorsitransfugas
 [. .] llanteosaliinumi
 [. . .] parshispanósputant
 [. . .] oenorumexercituge
 [. . .] ingeniómobiliaut
 35 [. .] ciorummetuinfidum
 [. .] . civestecultubarba
 [. .] loceltibericoetla

[. .]etus [c. 14 letters]
 [. .]si ph[„ „]
 [. .]rdi[c. 15 „]
 25 [. . .]ri[„ „]

Frag. (b).

[.] an Iolao [.]
 [.]m incertum tra-
 [. .]ariri[. .]is an testimo-
 [ni]um adscitae gentis. Ba-
 30 [lar]os Corsi transfugas
 [Pa]llanteos, alii Numi-
 [das], pars Hispanos putant
 [de P]oenorum exercitu; ge-
 [nus] ingenio mobili aut
 35 [so]ciorum metu infidum,
 [no]sci veste cultu barba.
 [Be]llo Celtiberico et la

Col. ii.

[c. 19 letters]
 con[c. 17 „]
 40 vit[„ „]
 di[c. 18 „]
 Dae[dalum ex Sicilia pro-]
 . fectu[m quo Minonis iram]

Frag. (c) + Frag. (d).

]ione []que
 . . .]per
]isse

. . .

ll. 4-18. '... filled with anger and grief at the loss of such allies. Armed men rush out of the ships, some in skiffs, some swimming; others drove the sterns of their ships on to the seaweed-choked shore. Nor did the enemy, a cowardly crowd of half-armed Greeks and Africans, withstand them any longer. They then buried their allies as best they could, and laying their hands on everything near by that was of service to them, when they saw there was no hope of carrying out their design, they set out, making for Spain or Sardinia . . .'

ll. 28-37. '... it being uncertain whether (the name) is . . . or evidence of their foreign origin. The Balari were runaways from the Carthaginian army—according to the Corsicans, they came from Pallantia, while some think them Numidians and others Spaniards—a race whom either their fickle temperament or fear of their allies rendered disloyal, recognized by their dress, their manners and their beards. In the Celtiberian war . . .'

ll. 42-3. '... Daedalus fled from Sicily to escape the anger and power of Minos.'

4. *refertus* (of the first *r* of which only the smallest traces remain) is not found elsewhere in Sallust, nor can I find an exact parallel to this expression in any other author; for its use with the genitive cf. Kühner-Stegmann, i, p. 441, and for the expression cf. e.g. *spei bonae pleni* in *Iug.* 113, 2 and *plenum irae* in Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 10, 2. *Incertus* (in the sense in which it is used in Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 75 *ultionis incerta*) cannot apparently be used with a pair of nouns = *hesitating between*. The singular is difficult, but may have been preceded by *quisque*, a word of which Sallust is very fond (see the index in Dietsch, *op. cit.*).

For Sallust's use of *in* see S. L. Fighiera, *La Lingua di Sallustio*, 161; I can find no exact parallel to this usage, but it approximates to *in* = 'in the case of'.

6. *ei volant*: corr. Fraenkel.

7. *scapha* occurs once elsewhere in Sallust—*Hist.* iv, frag. 2.

For this use of *pars*, cf. *omnis . . . pars* in *Iug.* 97, 5.

8. *algius* is quoted only four times in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*—once from Pliny (*N. H.* 32, 95), once from Ausonius (396, 43 *algius legitur litore*), and twice in Sidonius (*Ep.* 2, 2, 16—*fontibus algidis, litoribus algiis*—and 8, 9, 5 vers. 33). The fact that twice out of the four times it is used with *litus* suggests that the writers may have had this passage in mind. For Sallust's use of adjectives in *-osus*, see Fighiera, *op. cit.*, p. 48; he remarks that they always denote abundance or excess, and ascribes their presence in Sallust to the influence of the early annalists.

9. The mark after [*i*] *npulsis* may have been inserted by the scribe as a note that correction was required.

11. The dictionaries cite neither comparative nor superlative for *trepidus*.

12. *semermum*: the word is not found elsewhere in Sallust. It is noteworthy that with the exception of *semisomnus* (*Iug.* 21, 2), no instance of an adjective compounded with *semi-* is found except in the *Histories* (see Fighiera, *op. cit.*, 52) where *semitanimus*, *semitutus*, and *semitpletus* all occur.

13. The nearest parallel in Sallust to this use of *pro* is perhaps *Iug.* 50, 2 *deinde ipse pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paulatim procedere*.

17. *incepta patrare* occurs in *Cat.* 56, 4, *Iug.* 70, 5.

18. = *Hist.* i, frag. 83 (Servius ad Aen., i. 329) *perrexere in Hispaniam an Sardiniam*, which Servius quotes as an example of the use of *an* as a disjunctive conjunction; cf. Madvig on Cic. *De Fin.* 2, 104: *Thesaurus*, ii. p. 6, 83 sq.

21 sq. That this fragment belongs to the left-hand top corner of the first column of fragment (*b*) is made more than probable by the Greek text on the verso. It is possible that its last line may overlap with the first line (l. 26) of fragment (*b*). If, however, (*a*) belongs to another column, no other part of which survives, the *ph* of l. 23 might be part of the name of L. Marcius Philippus one of Lepidus' most active opponents.

24. Probably [*Sa*] *rđi* or [*Sa*] *rđi* [*ni-*].

26. I am indebted to Prof. Fraenkel for the reading *Iolao*. According to one story of the settlement of Sardinia, Iolaus led thither from Thespieae the descendants of Hercules, who were then known as 'Ιολαεῖς (Strabo, v. 225), 'Ιολάειοι (Diodorus, v. 15), or 'Ιολάοι (so the MSS. Diodorus, iv. 30). They were identified with the Ilienses (cf. *R.E.*, ix. i. 1846: ix. 2, 1062); that they are mentioned immediately before the Balari may suggest that the occasion of their mention by Sallust was the joint revolt by the two tribes against Roman dominion in 178 B.C. (Livy, xli. 6 and 12). On the other hand, as Daedalus is mentioned below, in l. 42, it is more likely that this passage is concerned only with the anthropology and mythical history of the island.

27. The parenthetic use of *incertum* appears to be confined, in the works of Sallust, to the *Histories*, cf. iv. 53 *suspectusque fuit, incertum vero an per negligentiam, societatem praedarum cum latronibus composuisse*; also iii. 73 and iv. 1.

28. Instead of [*.*] *ajiri*, [*.*] *rajiri* might be read, and *t* or *e* might take the place of the first *i*.

29. *Balaros*: Sallust's account of the origin of this tribe agrees fairly closely with that given by Pausanias, x. 17, 5. According to the latter, they were fugitives from Libya or Spain who had deserted from the Carthaginian army in the first Punic war and settled in the Sardinian mountains; *Balari* was the name given to them by the Corsicans and was the Corsican word for fugitives.

31. [*Pa*] *llanteos*: to the left of the first *l* is an ink mark which could not be part of the letter *a*, though it might belong to an *e* or perhaps an *i*. Consequently, if [*Pa*] *llanteos* is read, the mark must be regarded as due to a blot by the scribe. Another possibility would be to suppose that by a slip parallel to that in l. 9 the scribe wrote [*At*] *llanteos* for *Atlanteos*, referring to the tribes living in the neighbourhood of the Atlas

mountains, elsewhere referred to as *Atlantes*; this form of their name is used by Ammianus Marcellinus, xv. 3, 6. Pallantia, a city in Hispania Tarraconensis, was one of the towns of the Vaccaeï (or according to Strabo, iii. 162, of the Arevaci) who were opponents of Rome in the Celtiberian war; but why they should be distinguished from other Spaniards is not clear, as there seems to be no other record of refugees from either Carthaginian or Roman domination escaping and settling in Sardinia.

31. For Sallust's use of *alii* and *pars*, cf. *Hist.* ii. 87 A, 20, iii. 84: Fighiera, *op. cit.*, 88.

33. The mention of the Carthaginians in this passage suggests that *Hist.* ii, frag. 114 *et Poeni ferunt adversus* may belong to a subsequent column; Maurenbrecher notes that it might find a place either in the description of Sardinia or in the history of Nova Carthago.

genus, &c.: this clause is taken from the characterization of the Numidians in *Iug.* 46, 3: *genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili*: see also *Iug.* 66, 2.

36. [*no*]*sci*: not entirely satisfactory, but no alternative suggests itself.

37. The reference to the Celtiberian war, in which Pallantia and its neighbourhood were involved, suggests that *Pallanteos* may be the correct supplement in l. 31.

42-3. = *Hist.* ii, frag. 7 *Daedalum ex Sicilia profectum, quo Minonis iram atque opes fugerat*.

44. Both of these fragments retain part of the upper margin, so not improbably they come from the same column—perhaps from the top of col. ii of frag. (b); but this is quite uncertain.

474. LATIN JURISTIC FRAGMENTS.

Acquired in 1917.

Frag. (a) 10.8 × 7 cm.

Fourth century.

PLATE 3.

In the preparation of this and of the other legal texts in this volume (475, 476, and 479) I have been greatly assisted by Professor F. de Zulueta, whom I have consulted throughout, and who has worked over each of the texts in detail; both the introductions and the notes, in as far as any legal issues are concerned, owe very much to him. I wish also to thank Professor W. W. Buckland, who has been consulted by Professor de Zulueta, and to whom the identification of fragment (b) recto of the present text is due.

474 consists of two fragments of a papyrus codex, almost certainly not from the same leaf. The hand is a heavy and sloping mixed uncial, in general style not unlike that of the Vienna *Formula Fabiana* (Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie*, 14), though larger and less elegant, and is assigned by Dr. E. A. Lowe to the fourth century; the ink is a dark brown, smudged in places. There are two glosses, one Greek, one Latin; both are perhaps by the same hand, but are certainly not due to the scribe of the main text, though probably contemporary with it. Abbreviations, which are frequent and sometimes obscure, are marked by a line drawn over the letter or letters and a middle point placed after them. Thanks to the identification of fragment (b) recto the length of a line of text can be estimated at about 8 cm.; the height of a page of text cannot be determined, but as the upper margin measures 5.4 cm. (the side margins appear to measure 3 cm. on the outside and 2 cm. on the inside, giving a page about 12 cm. in width), the height of the codex probably greatly exceeded its breadth. Another example of this format is 460; there are reasons for thinking (see Schubart, *Das Buch*², pp. 131 sq. and 186) that this was one of the earlier types of codex, when the latter was generally adopted for literary texts.

Fragment (b) recto has been identified with *Digest* XII, 1, 1, 1, which is from Ulpian, *Ad Edictum* XXVI; as far as l. 12 the two texts are in agreement, but in l. 13 there is a disagreement, perhaps due to corruption in 474; in l. 14 they coincide again. The

other fragments have not, as yet, been identified, and it is very doubtful whether they are extant. The codex may have been a collection of excerpts from Ulpian or from various jurists, but on the assumption that it was a copy of Ulpian's commentary on the Edict, some guesses as to the subjects of fragment (b) verso and of fragment (a) can be made. The former clearly discusses what is covered by the term *pecunia*; this might well be in connexion with the Edict *Si certum petetur* (Lenel, *Edictum*³, pp. 232 sq.). In view of the shortness of the lines there can have been no great distance between the recto and the verso of the text; but if we look at Lenel's reconstruction of that part of Ulpian's *Ad Edictum* to which the recto apparently belongs (*Palingenesia*, ii, Ulp. 755 sq.) we find nothing resembling the text given us here. But it must be remembered that not all of Ulpian's Book XXVI survives, and that 474 may quite possibly have consisted of quotations from various jurists, as did the *Fragmenta Vaticana*. In fragment (a) two supplements suggest themselves for ll. 4 and 5, *constituta* and *instituta*. The former is in itself the more probable and, since it is not improbable that the two fragments come from neighbouring pages of the codex, it may be noted that the Edict *De pecunia constituta* was commented on by Ulpian in Book XXVII (see Lenel, *Palingenesia*, 785 sq.), but no passage has been found in which the word *constituta* is repeated in such close proximity. If *constituta* is accepted as the reading in these lines, the recto might be referred to the commentary on *debitum* of the Edict *Qui pecuniam debitam constituit* (Lenel, *Edictum*, p. 247). But Ulpian's commentary on this point is preserved in *Digest* XIII, 5, 1, 5-8; 3; 5; 7; 11, though it may have been abbreviated. There are, however, other possibilities, e.g. that this fragment deals with *indebitum* (cf. Ulpian, *ad Edictum* XXVI in *Digest* XII, 6, 26, 3 = *Frag. Vatic.* 266 (Lenel, *Palingenesia*, 774)), in which case it is fairly certain that the fragment is not extant.

The chief interest of this discovery lies in the fact that it disproves the alleged interpolation of *Digest* XII, 1, 1, 1 (see F. Pringsheim in *Zeitschr. Sav. Stift.*, 50 (1930), 375, with further literature; Lenel, *Edictum*, p. 235). This is important, because the scholastic character of the opening excerpts of *Digest* titles is a commonly accepted ground of suspicion. It can, of course, be answered that the interpolation is simply pre-Justinian; but it should be remembered that 474 was probably written some two centuries before the *Digest*.

474 was purchased together with 475 and 479 in Luxor, which suggests that their provenance may have been the Thebaid.

Frag. (a).	
Recto.	debitum a(u)t(em) acci[per] e debi[t] . vo[. . .] b[. . .] [.] []

Verso.	[.] nstituta cum xi fu
5	[.] st[it]uta nam
	[.] . [.] derit

Recto. Frag. (b).

.
 pr(aetor) et [de commoda]
 to et de [pignore edi]
 xit nam cu[icumque]
 10 ^{συν} rei ad^{μετα}sentia[mur a]
^{τιθε} lienam fide[m secu]
^{μεθα} ti mox re[c]ept[uri qui]
 a ex hoc (contra)ctū [crede]
 [r]e dicimur [.]

Verso.

.
 15 [.]cul]pa ded()
 [.] . [.]ut potu
 [.]m et pecuniae
 [appell]atione uti nam
 [pecunia]e appellatio
 20 [ne q]uicquid in pat
 [rimon]io i() significa
 [tur . .] . [.]t[.] em[.] t[.]

[. . . .]u[
 i[.]g v(er)b(um) [
 çener[
 est

1. *Accipere*: probably in the sense, *to understand by*, in which it is frequently used by Ulpian; see *Vocabularium Iurisprudentiae Romanae*, i. 94-7.

4. For the supplement in this and the next line see the introduction. The point after *xi* is in the papyrus and was probably inserted to mark the numeral; this may well come from an illustration, cf. Ulpian in *Digest* XIII, 5, 11, 1; Paul 12, 13.

7. A dot of ink to the left of *pr(aetor)*, where the margin is torn, may be the trace of a gloss.

10. *συνμετατιθεμεθα* must be a gloss on *adsentiamur*, but there is no warrant for this meaning in the lexica; in Cod. Just. I, (42), 11, 3, 41 (6) *μετατιθέναι* = *convey, alienate*; no other legal meaning is attributed to either word. The mark above the line is a reference mark to the gloss.

12. *qui]a*: *mox recepturi quid*; *Digest*. The *quid* of the *Digest* is in fact not very apposite here, as in the examples quoted what is to be recovered is not 'anything' but the actual thing handed over. There is, however, no other object to *recepturi* to hand, and *quia* increases the difficulty of the sentence; it would be a likely scribal error for *quid*. If *quia* is kept, the sentence will require another verb or else *credere dicimur* (which clearly should be the main verb corresponding to *adsentiamur*) will have to become the verb of the subordinate clause and the sentence as given in the *Digest* will be incomplete. Most probably, then, *quia* is no more than a corruption of *quid*.

The symbol for *contra*, in the shape of a rather cursive *s*, is that already known from other texts, among them the sixth century *Fragmentum de Iure Fisci* which was found with the Verona Gaius (see Studemund, *Apographum Gaii Institutionum*, p. 260, col. i, ll. 9 sq.).

14. Just above the *r* of *dicimur* are traces of what was probably a reference mark to a gloss.

15. *dēd* .: perhaps to be expanded *ded(it)*, (*-erunt*), *vel sim.* Studemund (*op. cit.*, p. 263) gives no example of this contraction; *deinde* is regularly contracted *dēd*. If some part of *dare* is to be recognized here, the collocation with *culpa*, which is a practically certain supplement, suggests a context dealing with *damnum*

iniuria (dolo vel culpa) datum: cf. Ulpian in *Digest* XII, 1, 9, 1, which, however, is held to be certainly interpolated. But the reference may be to *iusiurandum*, the field of which is very uncertain (see Buckland, *Text-book of Roman Law*², p. 633, note 8).

The marginal gloss against these lines may have been on *synallagma*, the Greek common word from early times for *agreement* and later used as the translation of *contractus* (it occurs twice in the *Digest*, II, 14, 7, 2 and L, 16, 19); assuming that it was written in Latin, we could read in ll. 1-2 [. . . s]u[nal]l[a]g(ma) v(er)b(um). Only the bottom part of the *g* is visible, so that, if a mark of abbreviation was placed after or above it, it could not be seen. Unfortunately in l. 3 of the gloss *gener(ale)* cannot be read for *cener*, but a scribal error is not impossible. In *Digest* XII, 1, 1, 1 we have both *generalis appellatio* and *verbum generale*.

16. If the two letters before *potu* belong to the preceding sentence (and]it could be read instead of]ut), *potu[it eni]im* might be read, though we should expect *enim* to be abbreviated; see however l. 20, where, if the supplement is correct, only three letters are missing and we should expect at least four on the analogy of other lines.

21. *ī* · should stand for *id* or *in*; but the former is too emphatic and leaves *quicquid* without a verb, while the latter would give us *nam pecuniae appellatione quicquid in patrimonio in significatione*, which, though the verb might be postponed, is an intolerable sentence. It is possible that the scribe intended to write *ē · est*, cf. the confusion in l. 13. Alternatively, *inest* would give good sense, but there is no case of it being abbreviated in this form.

22. That some part of *emere* or a derivative stood here is likely; but *em[p]t[io]*, *em[p]t[um]* and *em[i]t* seem equally possible.

475. GRAECO-LATIN JURISTIC FRAGMENTS.

Acquired in 1917.

Frag. (a) 6 × 5 cm.

Fifth century.
PLATE 4.

Two fragments, very probably of the same leaf, of a papyrus codex, with two smaller pieces. The text is written partly in Greek, partly in Latin, and probably belongs to a Greek scholastic work on Roman law, in which quotations from Latin jurists were admitted. Texts of this type are by no means unknown; apart from this text and 476, the two most recent additions are the scholia published by A. Segrè in *Studi Bonfante* III, pp. 421 sq., and the series of questions and answers on Latin legal terms (no doubt used for teaching purposes) edited by Schönbauer in *Aegyptus*, XIII, pp. 621 sq.¹ The best-known of these texts and that to which 475 has the closest resemblance, is the 'Scholia Sinaitica' (ed. Teubner ser., Seckel-Kuebler, *Jurisprudentia Ante-Justiniana*, ii, 2), anonymous papyrus fragments of the fifth or sixth century dealing with the *ius tutelae* and the *ius matrimonii*; indeed the similarity both in form and content suggests that the two texts belong to the same work.

Greek marginalia—one of which, in ll. 15 sq., gives the only consecutive sense yielded by the fragment—have been added by a second hand, which was also responsible for the note above l. 4. Abbreviations are numerous and not all, as yet, elucidated; the methods of indicating them are so various that I have thought it worth while to reproduce them immediately below the text. A middle point is used either for punctuation or perhaps to

¹ See the same scholar's discussion of the text in *Sav. Z. (R. A.)*, 53 (1933), pp. 451 sq., in which references will be found to similar texts.

indicate (see note to l. 1) the end of a Latin quotation. A sign \cdot/\cdot is found above l. 11, probably to draw attention to a marginal scholium. The margin of the page was at least 5 cm. wide; there are no means of calculating the dimensions of the codex. The Greek hand, which is upright and regular and shows some signs of Latin influence, is hardly likely to be later than the fifth century, nor does the Latin script demand a later date. The citation of the jurist Vivianus in ll. 11 and 12 is a strong, though not conclusive, indication of a date before Justinian.

The subject of fragment (a) recto is apparently *libertas fideicommissaria*; the verso mentions *dos* and perhaps *legata* (see note to l. 10). The Greek scholium on fragment (b) recto is concerned with a will and with *dos*. We seem, therefore, to have recovered fragments of a treatise *de legatis et fideicommissis*.

Frag. (a).

Recto.

$\cdot \quad \cdot \quad \cdot \quad \cdot \quad \cdot$
] . toros · επ[
 ελευ]θεριαν παρασ() [.]ντ[
 ελευ]θερ(ιας) ο()i f(idei)c(ommis)sarias τετρ() [
 $\quad \quad \quad \text{αντι του} \cdot$
]αζομεν() οταν εξ() ητο[
 5 ο]ταν γαρ τα απογρ[αφ
]ιζοντ() α[
]π[

Verso.

$\cdot \quad \cdot \quad \cdot \quad \cdot \quad \cdot$
] . τ[. .]xi
]τινα - τον [
]
 10]κα καλως p(rae) deleg[atis
]προιξ τ'ότε Vivia[nus
] ε
] ()η γυνη 'Vivi[anus
] patri [
 $\cdot \quad \cdot \quad \cdot \quad \cdot \quad \cdot$

Frag. (b).

Recto.

] . [
 15 [.]λα την patris [. .] [
 $\cdot \cdot \cdot$ Sab() σκοπος τω
 testatori τον αδελ
 φον παντος κερ
 δειν την προικα
 εν συνεστωτει τω
 γαμω τελευτωσης
 της αδελφ(ης) καλως
 20 [. .] . [. .] πατ[. . .]ν can[

Verso.

.
]ξ̄α
]et
]ρικ σημε(ειώσαι) ωρ(αιον)
 ε]παρκ() }
] . παι
 25]ον

Frag. (c).

Recto.

]toros[
]a[.] . [
 . . .

Verso.

] τη ουσ[
] εστιν [
 . . .

Frag. (d).

Recto.

.
 30]ερτα p[

Verso.

.
] . τ[.]ρν [

2. παρασ/ P. 3.]θερ· ὅι f̄c τετρ/ P. 4.]αζομεν· εἰ̄. P. 6.]ιζοντ P. 10. p` P. 12.]η̄ P.
 15.] . . . sab P. 16. 1. πάντως κερδαίνειν 19. 1. συνεστῶτι 20. αδελφ. P. 22. σ̄ημ δ. P. 23]παρδ P.

1. Perhaps *a]ctoris* should be read here ; *testatoris* at any rate is impossible. *Actoros* might be explained on the ground that the scribe, being more accustomed to Greek than to Latin, wrote by mistake the Greek instead of the Latin genitive termination. Apart from *toros*, which seems impossible in the context, there is no Latin word which could stand here. Apparently the same word recurs in l. 26 (see note *ad loc.*). The point after this word is in the papyrus and may indicate a transition from Latin to Greek, as perhaps in l. 19 from Greek to Latin.

3. ὅι: to this form of abbreviation in Latin texts I can find no parallel. In Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie*, p. xxxiv, abbreviations of the type *m̄* = *modo*, *n̄* = *noster* are given, but in this case the mark above the line (which is indistinguishable from the usual mark of short quantity) can hardly be meant for *u*. A similar form of abbreviation may be noticed in the Greek of the *Scholia Sinaitica*, e.g. *μ̄* = *μετά* in 52 (19). Perhaps *omni* should be read.

Too many resolutions of τετρ() are possible for a conjecture to be worth while.

4. The point after του is in the papyrus. The point after]αζομεν might be for punctuation ; but in view of the repeated σταν it is unlikely.

8. It is not certain whether the letters in this line are Latin or Greek; for *xi* might be read $\chi\iota$, but the χ would normally extend a little below the line.

9. The purpose of the short line drawn after *τινα* is not clear, unless it is another form of abbreviation.

10. If *p* is taken, according to normal usage, to stand for *prae*, the reading in the transcription (which might, however, be *praedelegatis*) must stand. One would wish to read either *de legatis* or *praelegatis*; *praelegatum dotis* is a common expression.

11. Vivianus, a second-century (?) jurist, is chiefly quoted by Ulpian. The sign above *τοτε* probably refers to a marginal note.

12. The mark above the first *V* of Vivianus may be intended to indicate a quotation.

15. *λα την* are probably to be separated; no suitable Greek word suggests itself.

In the next line, it is highly improbable (though the reading is not quite impossible) that the first two letters were *ad* and consequently *ad Sabinum* should be read; the point before *Sab*() would be unexplained, and there is no room for the name of a commentator and hardly for *l(ibro)* followed by a numeral between *patris* and these letters. The same abbreviation, *Sab*(), was placed before certain notes in the *Scholia Sinaitica* and is variously explained (see Seckel-Kuebler, *op. cit.*, p. 462) as referring to *Sabatius*, who is mentioned in Novel 35 (A.D. 535) as having assisted Tribonianus, or (more probably)¹ as the name of a scholiast and possibly editor of the whole work. However it be interpreted, it is likely that the same jurist is quoted here.

16. Between the *o* and the *ν* of *τον*, the scribe has placed a horizontal linking stroke (not found elsewhere), which gives the word a strange appearance: but *την* (and consequently the correction of *αδελφον* to *αδελφην*) cannot be read.

18. *κερδεν(-αιν)ειν την προικα*, i.e. *dotem lucri facere, lucrari*; the phrase is common in this connexion.

19. *εν συνεστωτει(-ι) τω γαμω*. These words occur twice in the *Scholia Sinaitica*, 13 (35), and are rendered *constante matrimonio*.

If these words go with the following *τελευτωσης της αδελφ(ης)* the marriage referred to must be that of the sister. But it seems a contradiction to speak of a woman dying *constante matrimonio*; we must presume the writer to have meant, *if the sister dies without her marriage having been previously dissolved* (i.e. by the husband's death or by divorce). Even so, the use of the present participle, *τελευτωσης*, is surprising; perhaps the Latin which the scholiast had to render was *si soror constante matrimonio decesserit*. But the break in the sentence might come after *κερδενειν* or after *γαμω*. Zulueta suggests, very tentatively, the following reconstruction of the case: the testator (father?) had given *dos* to the sister (his daughter?) on the terms that it should revert to him at the end of the marriage. By will he seeks to secure that if the marriage terminates by the death of the wife (sister?), the *dos* should go to her brother. This would leave children unprovided for; the letters *παι* may indicate that this point was dealt with.

22. *σημ(ειωσαι) ωρ(αιον)* are found together in the *Scholia Sinaitica* 10 (27), and in separation elsewhere in the same work.

26. Frag. (c) may possibly have been attached to frag. (a), in which case l. 26 will continue l. 1 after a gap of some letters (and the repetition makes this not improbable) and l. 27 will continue l. 2, while on the verso ll. 28 and 29 will precede ll. 8 and 9, again with a gap of two or three letters intervening. Traces of a line extending to the left can be seen above the *to* of *toros*.

476. REGISTER OF CONSTITUTIONES.

Acquired in 1920.

10.9 x 12.4 cm.

Fourth to fifth century.

A plate of this text, accompanied with a brief palaeographical account, appeared in E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, II, no. 225; it was there described as *Chronicon*

¹ So Huschke, cited in *op. cit.*, p. 462; Girard, *Textes de Droit romain*⁵, p. 609; Krueger, *Collectio Juris Anteiustiniani*, iii, p. 267.

Graeco-Latinum, a conclusion to which the arrangement of the text in short paragraphs, the numeration and the semi-historical character of the entries (e.g. the $\delta\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega$ $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\acute{o}(\pi\omega)$ of l. 39 suggested an allusion to Eusebius) seemed to point. But a closer study of the text than was then possible revealed that the vocabulary was predominantly legal, and that all the entries, as far as they were intelligible, were concerned with legal matters; hence the suggestion, first made by Dr. H. I. Bell and approved by Professor de Zulueta, that 476 is a fragment of a register or summary of imperial constitutions, has been adopted. For example, the entry of which only the beginning is preserved in ll. 40 sq. is addressed $\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\iota$ Ἡπείρου , with which we may compare Cod. Theod. 16, 2, 22 (A.D. 372), addressed *ad Paulinum praesidem Epiri Novae*. The text is mainly in Greek, but the prescript in l. 34 and certain key words in all the entries are in Latin, as is the case in the *Scholia Sinaitica* (see introd. to 475). It is difficult to go beyond this general description as it appears likely that a considerable part of each line is missing and what is left is written in a blurred and faded brown ink. Hence the subject of the entries is, as a rule, obscure; but that of ll. 3–6 is fairly clearly *reparatio temporum* ($\alpha\nuανέωσις$ $\tau\omega\nu$ $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omega\nu$), that is, the indulgence of extra time that could be granted to a plaintiff or an appellant who had forfeited his claim by having failed to proceed within the utmost period allowed by the general law. The use of proclamation by herald is natural enough in this connexion, but not evidenced elsewhere than in Just. Nov. 112, 3, pr. (see P. Collinet, *La procédure par libelle* (Paris, 1932), pp. 380, 383–4). *Reparatio* could be granted by rescript; thus *dia rescriptum* in l. 7 may refer to the same subject. For the question of the content of this entry, see note to l. 10.

The book appears to be written with two columns to the page; but the writing in col. i of the verso and, to a less extent, that in col. ii of the recto is somewhat smaller than that in the other two columns, although by the same hand; hence it is possible that these two columns are really marginal notes. The space between the columns, or between text and notes, is very small. The same scribe wrote both the Greek and the Latin; the former is in a small, square hand, obviously influenced by the Latin script (e.g. the δ is purely Latin in form), the latter is an early variety of half-uncial, in which the r with the upright descending below the line is notable. The margin above the first line of the verso measures 3.5 cm., that above the first line of the recto only 1 cm.

Recto.

	$\text{]ig\acute{\iota}\eta . \tau\omicron . \epsilon\nu\epsilon\tau\iota [$	
	$\text{] . } \rho\omega\nu . \alpha . \omicron\sigma . \kappa . . \epsilon\sigma[$
		$\text{. } \phi[$
	$\text{] } \epsilon\kappa\pi\epsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota \tau\omega\nu \chi\rho\omicron\nu\omega\nu$	15 $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\nu [$
	$\alpha\text{]}\nu\alpha\delta\text{[}\iota\text{]}\delta\omicron\sigma\theta\alpha\iota \text{repara}$	$\text{. } \iota\breve{\omega} . \text{dure [}$
5	$\text{] } \delta\iota\alpha \tau\omicron\upsilon \kappa\eta\rho\upsilon\kappa\omicron\varsigma \iota\sigma\alpha \lambda\omicron\iota$	$\rho\alpha\tau . \phi\eta\alpha [$
	$\text{] . [. . .]}\omega\nu \sigma\upsilon\nu\eta\gamma\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\omega\nu$	$[$
		$[$
	$\text{]en . . } \epsilon\delta\epsilon \text{dia rescriptu}$	20 $[$
	$\text{]d[.] . . . [. . .] . .$	$\omicron \epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma \omicron[$
	$\text{]}\omega\nu\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu \alpha\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\iota \pi\rho\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\iota\sigma$	$\kappa(\alpha\iota) \omega\nu \epsilon\sigma\tau[$
10	$\text{]}\epsilon \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\iota\varsigma \eta \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \alpha\iota$	$\mu\epsilon[$

		] δῖκαστας εἰ γὰρ κακῶς	τη[
		] οἱ ἀρχῶν ἐξέστιν αὐτο(ις)	
		]σθαι	
		
	Verso.		
25	]μ̄ λη	VI	
	]νι ση . [.] .	^{ιδ}	Maximo consideranti [
	] .		35 λ̄
	]mendis		ο
	]ε .		ἐστιν δε εν τη διαταξει ι[. . .] ε [
30	]ρ		τινα δι εαυτου μεθοδευ[ει]ν τον δ[
	] .		τα αλλα κεχρησθαι τοις εν . . . [
	] ς		σίου χρεους
	] φκ		οσ'ίω επισκο(πω) cumulari p(er) de[
		
40	φκα		αρχοντ(ι) Ηπει conso . diae [
			ρου
			μ̄ τη φ . [.] . . αρχη .
			γενομεν() σου
		

4. *Reparatio*: see Cod. Theod. II, 6; XI, 30, 31, 32, and Cod. Just. VII, 63; a summary of the legislation will be found in Gothofredus *Paratitlon* to Cod. Theod. XI, 30, for which see the edition of the latter by Ritter (Leipzig, 1736), IV, pp. 292-3. For an example of the use of the phrase ἀνανέωσις τῶν χρόνων see P. Lips 33 = Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, 88, 6. References to further literature will be found in M. A. von Bethmann-Hollweg, *Der Römische Civilprozess*, 3, pp. 237, 330, 337, and Meyer, *loc. cit.* ἐκπεσοῦσι τῶν χρόνων as a translation of *iis qui temporibus exciderint* occurs in the Basilica (ed. Heimbach), I, p. 441.

5. At the end of this line (ε)ις ο or (ε)ις ολο[κληρ]- might perhaps be read, though α is preferable to ρ.

7. δια is written in Latin characters, as is also the δ of διαταξει in l. 36. There is no sign of abbreviation after the u of *rescriptu*, nor is there room for an m after it.

9. Perhaps λεγι[φναριον]; but there are other possibilities.

10. αἰρεῖσθαι might be supplied at the end of the line, though this is no more than a guess. The alternative to η αὐτους κτλ. seems more likely to have followed than to have preceded it, in which case the εἰ γὰρ of l. 11 may introduce a parenthesis to the effect that if the *praeses* select badly (κακῶς), he may be held responsible. It is possible that we are still dealing with the subject of *reparatio*, for the plaintiff might forfeit his claim by lapse of time caused by the delays of the court (see Cod. Theod. II, 6, 2).

16. The letter above the ω in this line may be either a correction or else some form of abbreviation, cf. 475, 3, note.

17. The fifth letter in this line resembles the sign often used for ὥραιον (though in l. 31 of this text the head of the ρ is distinctly visible); here it is probably either a correction or an abbreviation. It is just possible that the word in question is *rationalis* in Greek characters.

25. μ̄ presumably = ὁμ(ολως), as in l. 42.

26. ση: perhaps for ση(μείωσαι).

35. One would expect this to be an abbreviation of some word derived from the root of πόλις, e.g. πολ(ι-τενομένω), but it is possible that here it is a contracted form of some proper name.

36. *διάταξις* = *imperial rescript*, is, according to Meyer (*op. cit.* 54, 18 note), found chiefly in the papyri, but does occur elsewhere, e.g. *Digest*, XXVII, 1, 2, 4. Here we should expect it to be followed by the name of the emperor or by some other qualification; if it was, probably about half the line was missing.

37. *μεθοδεύειν*: in the sense *to exact, collect* as in Justinian, Cod. Just. I, 3, 38, 2 (date uncertain); VII, 51, 5, 4 (A.D. 487); X, 19, 9, 1 (A.D. 496).

39. The letters written above this line are probably by way of annotation rather than correction; the first word may have been *δημοσίου*. *Per* is abbreviated *p̄*.

The numeral *φκ* appears to belong rather to col. i than to col. ii. If it belongs to col. ii, it is written at the end, not at the beginning of a paragraph, unless this line begins a new entry; but if so, it consists of one line only and there is no space between it and the preceding entry. *φκα*, however, is clearly placed against l. 40; *φκ* probably appears in the position it does because the scribe did not insert it until the paragraph had been written and then found he had not left enough space between the columns.

40. The letter read as an *s* after *con* might be a mark of abbreviation.

477. CICERO, *DIVINATIO IN Q. CAECILIUM*.

Acquired in 1920.

40.3 × 29 cm.

Fifth century.

This bifolium, containing part of sections 35–7 and 44–6 of the *Divinatio*, is the most substantial contribution to the text of the Verrines yet made by the papyri; the other fragments of these speeches are P. S. I. 20 (II, 1, 60–3), P. Iand. V, 90 (II, 2, 3–4), P. Oxy. VIII, 1097 (II, 1, 1–4), and X, 1251 (II, 2, 3, and 12). The bifolium must have been the one next to the centre of the quire, as the amount of text intervening between the two leaves would occupy exactly four pages. An intact leaf probably measured 20.5 × 29 cm., with an upper margin of 5 cm. and a lower margin of 6 cm. The text is written in a consistent and regular half-uncial (except for *a* which is uncial), assigned by Dr. E. A. Lowe to the fifth century (a plate showing part of Folio 2 verso, with a brief description, has appeared in his *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, II, no. 226); the hand is not unlike that of P. S. I. 20, but is heavier and more regular. The scribe used the usual red-brown ink of the period; parts of the text were only legible with the help of a mercury vapour lamp, which also disclosed the existence of some scholia barely visible to the naked eye. At the end of sentences, where the pause in sense is considerable, the writer leaves a gap of some four or five letters; a new section (according to his system) always begins on a new line and with an enlarged initial letter projecting into the margin. The text has been heavily annotated, the bulk of the notes and glosses being written in a small, slightly sloping Greek hand, probably contemporary with the text, which has faded badly. This scribe (B) also wrote Latin, as the third and fourth lines of the Latin scholium on ll. 13–14, and perhaps also *dicere* in l. 9, are in his hand. Most of the Latin scholia, however, are attributable to a different scribe (C), who used a black carbon ink and wrote a small, semi-cursive hand. As he has in a few places inked over not only the text but B's scholia as well, he wrote later than B; he is also responsible for the occasional punctuation, for corrections (either by cancellation or expunction) and additions to the text, for some of the marks of long quantity (others were inserted by the original scribe, A), and for one or

two circumflex accents on Latin words. A few Greek glosses on Folio 2 recto were added by another scribe (D), while *scopuloso*—written in the top left-hand corner of Folio 1 verso—is in yet another hand (E). The Greek annotations, with the exception of the first half of the long note on *indiciū* (l. 14 sq.), and perhaps one or two other notes on the same page, consist of translations or adaptations of the Latin text, less elementary and unintelligent than such notes in Latin papyri often are; the Latin notes, and the few Greek exceptions mentioned above, in manner and occasionally in substance resemble those of Pseudo-Asconius, which are dated to the fourth or fifth century. The scholium on *indiciū* in 477 suggests that it and Pseudo-Asconius may have had a common source, while that on *petitiones* (l. 53) suggests that the writer was acquainted either with Servius or with a source of Servius.

For the *Divinatio* and for the *Actio Prima* we have no MS. of the first class; the tradition rests on Codex Parisinus 7823 (D), written in the fifteenth century and itself copied from Codex Parisinus 7775 (S) of the thirteenth century, before the latter was mutilated. These, in the Teubner edition of A. Klotz, with which the papyrus has been collated, comprise the α class; the β class consists of three MSS., one, P, of the eleventh century, two, Q and H, of the fifteenth century. Hence early evidence for the text is particularly welcome. In five places, obvious errors excluded, 477 gives a reading not recorded elsewhere; of these *demonstrarent* in l. 18 is perhaps worth consideration, while the surprising addition *modo altercandum* in l. 45 has much to recommend it; whether the omission of *constitutam* in l. 72 is regarded as plausible depends on whether in that clause the reading of the MSS., which also seems to have been the reading of the *corrector* of 477, or the emendation of Gronovius, which is the reading of the first hand of 477, but which demands *constitutam*, is adopted. On one occasion 477 agrees with the β group against D, in reading *me* in l. 52—an addition which is generally adopted by editors. It lends no support to two deletions by Hirschfelder. The scribe's orthography is, on the whole, good; but he writes *paesertim* for *praesertim* in l. 28 and *constuere* for *constituere* in l. 65; in ll. 49–50 *numquam* and *nunquam* are found together.

Scholia and corrections in the third hand (C) are printed in italic type.

Folio 1. Recto.

ciebat qu[e]m [ad]m[od]um [.] defe[nsu]r[us] [e]s

... λ . . [.] . . γα . . ος του
 ... [. . .] . . ομ . . ουκ ου
 ο υπο λογων

set non reper[ie]bat \curvearrowright *h(oc) est m[anif]esta sunt*

Adque ego haec quae [i]n medio po[sit]a sunt

. φερεται

commemo[r]o s[un]t a[li]a magis ^{obscura} occulta furta qu[ae] ^{verres} ill[is] ^{caecili} ut ist[is] credo [anim]os atq(ue)

. ους και Τυλλιος
 . . . ερ . . . επι του
 Κεκικιου ελεγχου

5

αμβλυ
 νει

impetus re[ta]r[d]a[re]t b[e]nignissime cum

§ 34

qu[ae]st[io]ne suo comm[un]icavit haec tu

scis ad me [ess]e [delata quae] si v[er]im profer

επ . . . δερ . . σ . . ατ .
 εδιδα ε . . .

10 ἀπαν[τ]ες
 νοειτ[ε]
 ησαν . .
 χρημα
 τα δε κλ[ε]
 ψας ουδε
 μερισας
 [. . .] επι
 [. . .] μο
 [. . .] . ελν
 [. . . .] . ε
 [. . . .] ν
 15 [. . . .] .
 [. . . .] ασ
 [. . . .]
 δ αν αλλ[οτ]
 ρι . α ηδε
 σαν γαρ π[.] .
 [.] δ[] ελλ[.] .
 [.] παυ
 § 35 [.] ως
 [. . .] τη .
 [. . . .] θαι
 [.] ρο[υ]ς
 20 [. . .] ρησαν
 . . ρ[.] ατου
 του φη
 γαι . εν
 . . [. . . .]

re facile om[nes intellige]nt vobis in
 ter vos n[on] m[od]o vol[un]t[at]em f[ui]sse
 coniun[ctam] se[d] ne pr[a]edam qu[ide]m adhuc
 esse d[i]visam qu[a] pr[op]te[r] si t[ibi] in
 diciu[m] pos[tulas] fie[ri] quod tec[um] u[na]
 fecerit c[on]cedo s[i] id lege [pe]rmittit[ur]
 sin autem [de accusatione] di[ci]mu[s] con
 cedas o[po]r[tet] iis qui nullo suo pecca[to]
 imped[i]u[n]tur quomi[nus] al[te]r[ius] pecca
 ta demons[trare]nt

At vide quan[tum] in]terfuturum sit in]ter
 meam tuamq[ue] [a]ccusationem ego
 etiam qu[ae] tu s[i]ne [ve]rre commisisti ver
 ri cri[mini] daturu[s] sum quod te non

*index est communis
 criminis*
 nam legibus vetitum erat
 senatorem ferre indic[ium]
 νομος ην παρα Ρωμαι[οις]
 ως οτε δυο ημαρτον πε[ρι]
 τι ιδιωται με[ν]οντες
 ριον φονον προ[ιη]σ[α]ν
 (5) των ει ο εις καταμη
 νυση το αμαρτημα οτ[ι]
 τοδε μετα τουδε ημαρ
 τον τον μεν καταμη
 νυσαντα μη τι[μω]ρει
 (10) σθαι αλλα μισθον εχειν
 της καταμηνυσεως
 την συ[γ]γνωμην τον
 μεντοι καταγγελθεν
 τα κολαζεσθαι ει μεν
 (15) τοι δυο ημαρτον συγ
 κλητικοι και ο καταμη
 νυσας τιμω[ρει]ται ηπο
 μενε . τιμ . [.] ο[. . .] . [. . .]
 καταμηνυθηναι τουτω
 (20) ουδ πολο[.] ας

κοινωνησαντα τουτω αμ[αρ]τηματων οτι
 [ε]χρην καταμηνυσαι βουλει π . ωμαν ε . . [. . .]
 πραγματευεσθαι εγω μεν τ[ο] σον εικεναι εσθ[ο]μαι ε
 κομ ου κωλυει δε σε τυχειν συ[γ]γνωμης ο νομος
 (25) ως συγκλητικον συγκλητικος γαρ ων ουκ ωφειλες
 αμαρτανειν . . μεν περι τουτο αλλα ως αυτο[ς]
 τοις Ξικελοις συνηγορων βουλει κατηγορειν
 [η] μα[λ]λον της συνηγοριας παραχωρησαι
 των δυναμενω καλως και μετα πα[ρ]ρησιας
 (30) κατ[η]γορειν καθαρων γαρ εχω το συνειδος
 ον δυνασσαι συ γαρ κοινωνος αυτω των αδικη
 ματων

Folio 1. Verso.

scopuloso

25]ρ[. . .] νην
 ενεθεης

prohibu[er]it cum summ[a]m [ip]se h[a]beret
 potesta[te]m tu contra ne quae ille qui
 dem fecit obiciēs ne qua ex parte con[i]u[n]
 ctus cum eo [re]p[er]i[re] quid illa
 ca[us]e cili [con]te[mnend]ane t[ibi] videntur
 esse [[n]]{e} si ne quibus c[ausa] susti[n]eri pare[re]
 tim tanta null[o] modo potest a]liqua facul
 tas agen[di] a]liqua dicendi c[on]suetudo a]li
 qua in f[or]o iu[di]ciis legibus a]ut ra[tio] aut

30

§ 36] . α . ασια .
 δε ουτω λεγει
 σκοπελω δυσ
 χερει πραγματι
 απο μεταφορας
 [.] κοντων
 . . ρο [. . .] των
 35 [ε]παχθεστατον
 . τιν[.] οφ . ρ . οκη
 [.]ω[.] και εθη ε . . νυνο
 [.] οτι αθλον περ[ι]
 τουτων α[υτ]ικα χρ[ι]
 . οis αρ και δι
 α[.] . . .] . τα υλ .
 τε ως οικια εστιν
 [.]α τουτου εχοντος
 40 . ω . νομιζομαι [π]
 ρος ελεον ε . .
 ματα ταδε του
 πλουσιον ε
 ξωθεν τιμης
 § 37 εστιν
]λη . [
 εριδα

exercit[a]tiō [i]ntelli[go] qu]am scopu
 loso dif[fici]li[que] in loco ve[r]s[er] nam] cum
 omni[s] [arro]gāntia [o]diōsa est tu[m] illa] inge
 nii atq[ue] elo[qu]uenti[ae] multo] molesti[s]
 sima q[uam] [ob] rem nihil dico de m]eo in
 geniō [neque est quod possim dicer]e ne
 que si [e]sset di[c]er[em] aut enim id m]ihi [sa]
 tis est quod est de me [opinion]is quidquid
 est aut si id parum es[t] egō [m]ai[u]s [i]d cōmme
 mora[.]] nō facere non possu[m]

utrum sibi
 . πα . [.] tan te . .
 treni . . ηι

[.] πο . . [. .]
 κονειναι
 . . λιπ . υ[]
 . . σου . χ[. .]
 δοξα και τ . . υση
 [. .] απο[. . .]

De te caecili [iam] [m]eher[cul]e hoc [extr]a hanc
 contentionem certamenq[ue] nostrum]

Folio 2. Verso.

§ 44 certamen* quicum* mod[o] di[sse]rendum
 45 modo altercandum modo o[mni] ratiōne
 pugnandum certandum[que] s[un]t.
 Cuius ego ingenium ita laudo ut [no]n [pe]rti
 mescam : ita probo ut mē ab e[o] d]electari
 facilius qu[a]m decipi p[ot]e[m] p[o]sse num
 50 quam ille mē opprimit consil[i]o nunq[uam]
 ullo art[i]ficio pervertet [n]um[quam] inge
 nio m[e] suo labefactar[e] a]l[que] infirma
 re conabitur* novi om[nis] hominis pe] *proprie petitiones ad gla
 diatores pertinet*
 titionē[s] rationesque d[ic]e[n]di. sa[epe] in is]
 55 d[em] s[aepe] in contrariis caus[i]s v[ersati] su]
ad
 mus ita contrā mē ille dicit [quamvis]
 sit ingeniosus ut non[nullum] etiam]
 dē suo [in]genio iud[i]ciu[m] fieri arbitretur]
 § 45]επ . .
]που

Te vero []

Folio 2. Recto.

60 utrum d[i]x[eris] id contra te futurum qui t[em]p[or]e
 [bi] aestu[s] qui er[r]or quae tenebrae [di] immo]r
 ta]l]es erunt homini minime [mal]ō *in . [. a]liud . . ret*
 Quid [c]um [acc]usatiōnis tuae membra d[ivi]de
 re coep[erit] et in digitis, suis singulas par

οιαι σοι ζαλαι

65	tes causae cōst(ī)uere quid [cu]m unumquid
	[qu]ē transigere expedire absolvere ipse
	κινδυνω [profe]c[to] metue[re in]cipies ne in[pe]centi
§ 46	περιβαλης [periculu]m facesseris quid cum [c]ōmmise ~
	[rari conq]uer[i] et ex illius invidia deo
70	[nerare] a[liqui]d et in tē traice[re] c[o]epe ~
	[rit com]m[e]morare quāest[o]ri[s] cu[m pra]e
	[tore necess]itudinem more maiorū sor
	[tis religion]e poterisne eius orationis
	[subire invidiam] vide modo etiam atque
75	[etiam considera mihi enim vi]d[etu]r per
	[iculum fore ne ille non modo verbi]s [t]ē

3. The *e* of *ego* has been corrected in black ink.

7. There seem to be too few letters to fill the gap; there may have been a correction.

9. The papyrus does not support Hirschfelder's rejection of *vobis*.

There appears to be an omission in the Greek scholium on this passage (ll. 9 sqq.). After *νοείτε* (the second person may be due to the *vobis inter vos* of the text) we should expect *οτι φιλοι μεν ησαν*, or something of the kind; probably a line or two has fallen out after *νοείτε*. Three lines later perhaps *δε (ε)κλεψαν* should be read. In 12 margin *μερισαν* cannot be read.

13. *fie[ri]*: *dari* MSS. *Facere indicium* is by no means uncommon, e.g. Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 40: *sed tamen indicium fieri videatur cum tabulae illae . . . proferuntur*; but where, as here, *indiciu* means 'permission to give evidence (against an accomplice)' rather than 'evidence', *dare* is obviously more suitable. For the position of the *index* in Roman criminal law, see Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, 504.

In substance, the scholia attached to 477 agree with that of Pseudo-Asconius on this passage; on one point, the position of a senator who wished to turn *index*, they appear to have been fuller than the latter, but here the text fails us. The comment of Pseudo-Asconius on the passage (T. Stangl, *Ciceronis Orationum Scholiastae*, II, p. 197) runs as follows: *Certa sunt in quibus impunitas indici datur; in causa proditiōis, maiestatis, et si quid huiusmodi est. Certae enim personae sunt quae indices fieri possint. Itaque neque repetundarum causa per indices agi solet, neque senatoria persona potest indicium profiteri salvis legibus. Index est autem qui facinoris cuius ipse est socius latebras indicat impunitate proposita. Est autem sensus: 'Index potes esse, si tibi hoc licet; accusator de qua re agimus, esse non potes'. Satis contumeliose tamquam levem hominem exagitavit Caecilium.* In our text the third and fourth lines of the Latin were apparently written by the scribe responsible for the Greek scholium, and were then partly rewritten by the third hand, C, who added the first two lines of Latin. The second part of the Greek text consists of an explanation and expansion of Cicero's argument. The Greek might be translated as follows: 'There was a law among the Romans to the effect that when two men, being private persons, committed a crime such as murder, if one of those who committed the crime gave information about it, saying, *I have committed this crime with this man*, then the informant was not punished, but as a reward for the information received a pardon; but he who was denounced was punished. If, however, two senators committed a crime, then the informant also is punished . . . (l. 21), because it was his duty to give information. Do you (i.e. Caecilius) wish . . . to take up the case seriously? I (i.e. Cicero) shall be willing to speak your part for you. Does not the law prevent you, as a senator, from receiving pardon? For, as a senator, you ought not to have committed this crime. . . . But do you, on the ground that you yourself are acting for the Sicilians, wish to conduct the prosecution, or do you prefer to hand it over to a man who is in a position to prosecute well and frankly? For I have a clear conscience. You are unable to prosecute him; for you were a partner in his crimes.' It may be noticed that in l. (2) the construction is confused, *ὡς* being followed by an infinitive in l. (9): in l. (19) *καταμνησθεις* might be read, but there is not room for a subsequent *υπο τουτου*: in l. (23) *εικηναι* is an odd expression, and is, according to Liddell & Scott, a form only

found in compounds; but no other reading seems possible and presumably ἡμι is used here in the sense of *speaking*.

16. [*pecca*]to: the *o* has been corrected by C; the original letter cannot be read.

18. *demons*[trare]nt: *demonstrare possint* MSS. Though the last two letters are blurred, it is quite certain that they were not followed by another word.

19. *at*: *ac* MSS.

24. Above the *n* of *ne* C has written *ῥ*.

28. Here the original reading seems to have been *ne si*, which C has corrected to *sine*, but forgot to cross out the *e*.

paresertim: l. *praesertim*.

32. *scopuloso*: this word was picked out by scribe E, no doubt because of its rarity (this is the only instance of a metaphorical use of the word in prose quoted in the dictionaries, though it occurs elsewhere in Cicero in a different sense), and written in the top left-hand corner of the page. The Greek scholium would appear to be a mere adaptation from the Latin; I have found no instance of the use of σκόπελος or its derivatives parallel to *scopuloso* here.

36. The scholium written in the margin against this and the subsequent lines is unfortunately too fragmentary to give much sense; nor is it clear in what way the allusions to wealth and position at the end of the scholium are relevant here. In l. 39 read *οικεια*; after *ελεον* we might expect either *ρηματα* or *εγκληματα*, but neither can be read; the letters appear to be *επη*.

42. Part of a stroke by C is visible above the final *e* of *mehercule*, perhaps an accent, but more probably meant as an *s*.

44. Why *disserendum* should have been written by C above the line, if it already stood in the text, is not clear; perhaps there was a mistake in the initial letters.

45. *modo altercandum*: these words are not found in any other MS., nor is anything corresponding to them. In favour of retaining them it might be argued (1) that *altercandum*, either in its non-technical sense of *wrangle, quarrel*, or in the technical sense of *altercatio*, the sharp question and answer of opposing counsel, does occupy a middle place between *disserendum*, which implies no more than 'discussion', and *pugnandum*, and further that, as the text stands in the MSS., the transition is abrupt; (2) that *altercari* is a rare word—it occurs only twice in Cicero, in *Brutus*, 159 and 173—and so is unlikely to have crept into the text as a gloss on the common *disserendum*; (3) that even if it is a gloss, we have to assume a double error to account for the *modo*. For *modo* repeated three times, cf. *Pro Fonteio*, 12.

48. *me* is omitted by D (Parisinus 7823), but is found in MSS. of the β group.

53. For the scholium on *petitiones*, cf. Servius on *Aeneid* ix. 437 *petitiones enim proprie dicimus impetus gladiatorum*.

58. From the end of this line to where Folio 2 Recto begins are 178 letters in Klotz's text, which would occupy exactly 6 lines in our text, thus giving a page of 21 lines.

61. ζάλη is not infrequently used in a metaphorical sense: see Liddell & Scott, s.v.

64. A comma has been inserted by C after *digitis*, to separate it from *suis*; he also inked over the first *s* of *singulas*.

68. Although the letters are blurred, it is clear that 477 read *facesseris* with D, and not the *facessieris* of the β group. Priscian (Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, II, p. 535, 18) quotes the clause with *facesseris*, but adds that *facessieris* is found in some MSS.

69. The papyrus does not support Hirschfelder's deletion of *et*.

72. *necessitudinem constitutam* MSS. The omission is probably accidental, as if *more* and *religione* are read, *constitutam* is essential. But another hand (possibly the same which wrote *scopuloso* at the top of Folio 2 Verso) has added an *m* to *more* and may have done the same in the next line to *religione*. The reading *more . . . religione* was suggested by Gronovius and has been adopted by Klotz and other editors. It might be argued that the reading *morem . . . religionem* arose as an attempt to make sense of a text from which, as in 477, *constitutam* had already been lost. The evidence of the papyrus is interesting as showing that both readings were current in the fifth century.

73. *orationis*, so the MSS.: *orationi* Pseudo-Asconius. It is conceivable, but highly unlikely, that in the papyrus the words were divided *orationi subire*.

478. VIRGIL, *AENEID I*.

Acquired in 1917 and 1920.

Frag. (a) 20.8 × 22.9 cm.

Fourth century.

This MS. of *Aeneid I*, accompanied by a word for word Greek translation, has had a chequered history. Fragment (b) was acquired for the Library in 1917; fragments (a) and (c) were purchased from another dealer by the late Professor Grenfell in 1920, while a fourth fragment found its way to Milan and was published in 1927 as *Papiri Milanesi I*. That this forms part of the same codex as 478 and belongs to the same leaf as fragment (b) I was able to establish by a drawing kindly sent me by its editor, Professor Calderini; as it actually connects with fragment (b)—in several cases a word is divided between Manchester and Milan—I have, with his permission, republished the text here (ll. 124–31 and 145–51; words or letters extant only in the Milan fragment are underlined in this edition).

Both Latin and Greek texts were written by the same scribe, the Latin in a handsome half-uncial (*a* and *g* being of the uncial type) in which Greek influence can be noticed, the Greek in a square, heavy hand approximating to the Biblical type. A photograph, with a brief palaeographical description, of fragment (c) has appeared in E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, II, no. 227. The ink is a light-brown in colour and in places (particularly in fragment (b), where the letters are sometimes invisible, though the surface seems hardly damaged) has faded badly; the reading has been much assisted by the use of a violet ray. A few corrections were made in a similar ink and a semi-cursive script; these have been attributed to a second hand, though the original scribe may have been responsible for them. The majority of corrections, however, were added by a third hand and in a black carbon ink, the use of which in literary papyri of this period is almost confined to corrections. The same hand inserted the *paragraphi* to mark the line in which the end of the verse came (on an average a verse of Virgil occupies three lines of text), and has occasionally rewritten letters in the text; the occasional marks of long quantity and *apices* (e.g. in ll. 3, 4, 114; probably only the faded and deranged condition of the papyrus prevents more being recognized) are by the same hand.

Each page contained twelve to thirteen verses of Virgil and, with an average of slightly over three lines of text to a verse, there would have been between thirty-six and forty lines to a page. The upper margin measures 5 cm., and the height and breadth of an intact page of the codex would have been respectively 36 and 24 cm. In fragment (a), verso precedes recto, while in fragments (b) and (c) the reverse is the case; hence we may infer that the latter belonged to the second half of the quire, whereas (a) formed part of the first half. If the codex contained only *Aeneid I*, it would have consisted of some thirty leaves; but in all probability it was more extensive.

It may seem obvious that a text arranged in this fashion with the Latin and Greek in parallel columns was meant for some scholastic purpose; but it is out of the question that a copy so finely written and on such a scale was the work of a schoolboy. It may perhaps have been a schoolmaster's copy or that of a private student of Virgil. But it is surprising that the orthography of the Greek text is so much worse than that of the Latin; although there was more scope in the former for the *corrector*, he confined himself largely

to the latter. Even allowing for the fact that vowel changes are common in documents of the period, yet *τοιχη* for *τύχη* and *αισθηταις* for *ἐσθῆτες* show that the scribe's knowledge of Greek orthography, if not of the language, was uncertain. Further, the translation itself, even if judged by the low standard common, then as now, to word for word translations, simply is not Greek. For example, *pars . . . pars* is rendered by *μέρος . . . μέρος*, *ludis imaginibus* by *παίξεις εἰκόσιν*, *corripuere viam* by *ἀφήρπαζον τὴν ὁδόν*. The translation is in fact purely mechanical, each word being treated without reference to its context. But it does not stand alone. In 1927 A. Galbiati published in *Aevum* I, pp. 49–70, from a polyglot and polygraph codex in the Ambrosian Library, a palimpsest (the upper text being Arabic) of parts of *Aeneid I* and *II* accompanied by a Greek version. This text is dated to the fourth or early fifth century, and its place of origin is thought to be either Egypt or Syria. It includes, with large gaps, lines 588–741 of *Aeneid I*, but the only coincidence with 478 is in lines 649–51, where the Greek version in the Ambrosian codex runs (*op. cit.*, p. 59): καὶ περιφάομενον [*sic*: ? περιφασμένον] κροκοειδεῖ σκέπασμα ἀκάνθῳ, κόσμους τῆς Πελοποννησίας Ἑλένης, οὓς ἐκείνη ἀπὸ τῶν Μυκηνηῶν, τὰ Πέργῃμα ὁπότε μετεδίωκεν καὶ τοὺς ἀστυχωρήτους γάμους. This is not identical with the version in 478, but it is close enough to make one suspect a common origin¹. It should be added that the arrangement of both the Ambrosian text and the Vienna fragment is similar to that in 478. Further, there are two other Virgilian papyri, both of the fifth century which, though they do not contain a complete Latin text with a Greek version, yet give most of the Latin words with their Greek equivalents opposite, only the simpler ones being omitted—P. Oxy. 1099 and P. S. I. 756. In the latter, *corripere*, mistakenly translated by *ἀφαρπάζειν* in l. 418 in our text, is correctly rendered by the same word in *Aeneid II*, 479; similarly *ὀλισθάνειν* is used to translate *elapsus* in both papyri. Consequently it is unlikely that our translation was the unaided production of an individual, with a merely local circulation; the most likely hypothesis is that there was in general use in the Near East a Virgilian dictionary similar to the Homeric lexicæ which we know existed²; in this the Greek equivalents (sometimes more than one) for the Latin words would be given and were used without any discrimination by the composer of our text. This will explain some of the mistakes in our text (and the Ambrosian translation is on a slightly higher level throughout); but it must have been a bad dictionary that gave *ὀλισθάνειν* as the equivalent for *elabi*. The fact that in 478 where a Latin word is omitted, the corresponding Greek word is also absent, favours this hypothesis.

The relative soundness of the Latin text may be due to the scribe's having had a reliable copy in front of him. There are two omissions, *oris* in l. 252 and *mediisque* in l. 638; but the errors that have escaped the *corrector* are comparatively few. In verse 646 the papyrus lends support to a conjecture of Baehrens which has not found favour with editors; but neither the condemnation of verse 426 by Heyne and Ribbeck nor *dii*, the reading of Gellius in verse 636 for the *dei* of the MSS., are supported. For collation the edition

¹ See also E. A. Lowe in *Classical Review*, xxxvi (1922), 154, who refers there to an otherwise unpublished parchment fragment in the Rainer collection at Vienna, containing ll. 673–4 of *Aeneid V* with a Greek translation; Lowe assigns it to the sixth century.

² It has recently been announced (see *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xxiii (1936), 214) that among the papyri discovered in 1936 at 'Aujā in Palestine was a fragment of Virgil with a Greek translation; it would not be surprising if the version was the same as that known from Egypt.

of Ribbeck (1894) and the Oxford Text of Hirtzel have been used. In the transcription letters rewritten by the *corrector* are in italic type, and words or letters found only in the Milan fragment are underlined; supplements of the Greek version are occasionally admitted *exempli gratia*.

Frag. (a).

Verso.

(235)	[hinc] [fo]r[e duc]tores revocatò [a] sanguine Teucrì	απ[ο τουτων] εσεσθαι ηγεμωνες ανακληθεντος απο ονοματος το(υ) Τευκρ[ου]
5 (236)	quì mare quì terras [omni dicione] [tenerent]	οιτινες την θαλασσαν οιτινες χωρας [μι]α εν εξουσια [κ]ατεξουσιν
(237)	[pollicitus]	[ε]πηγγιλω
10	[quae te genitor] [sententia]	[τις σ]ε γνωμη [ω] γεννητωρ στρεφει
(238)	[vert]i[t hoc] eq[uidem] occasum Troiæ tristesque ruinas	[του]τω μεν ουν [την σ]υμφοραν της Τροιας [και τλημ]ονας συμπτωσεις
15 (239)	solabar [fa]t[is] cóntraria fata rependens	[παρεμυθ]οιμην μοιραις [τας ενα]ντιας μ[ο]ιρας [α]ντισταθμωμ[ε]ν[η]
(240)	nunc eadem for[t]una viros	νυν η α[ντ]η τοιχη τοι[s] ανδρασιν
20	tot c[a]sibus {ca} (241) <u>ācto[s]</u> insequi[t]ur quem da[[d]]s f[i]ne[m] <u>rex</u> māgne la[borum]	τοσαιταις σ[υ]μφ[ορ]αις ελασθεντ[ας] επ[εται] ποιον διδως τε[λο]ς βασιλευ μεγιστε [πονων]
(242)	A[n]tenor pot[uit] 25 mediis [.] elapsu[s] Achivis	Αντηνωρ ηδυι[ατο] εν μεσων ολισθανω[ν] των Αχεων
(243)	Illr(i)c[os]	εις τους Ελληνικους

Recto.

(247)	[hic tamen ille] urbem Patabi 30 <u>sedesque</u> locavit	εντανθα ομω[s] εκεινος την πολ[ιν Πατου]ι[ου] και εδρας ιδρυσεν
(248)	Teucrorum et genti nomen dedit <u>armaque</u> fixit	των Τρωων και το ονομα δεδωκεν και οπλα επηξεν

(249)	Troia n[.]unc	Τρωικα	
35	placida comp[os]tus]
	pace qu'ẽscit	[]
(250)	nos tua progen[ies]]
	caeli quibus	[]
	abnuis arcem	[]
40 (251)	navibus a[rr]missi[s]	νηων απολλυμενω[ν]	
	infandum unius	αθεμιτως μιας	
(252)	ob iram pr[odim]ur	δι οργην προδιδομεθα	
	adque Ital[is]	και των [Ι]ταλωνιων	
	longe disiungimur	μακραν διαζευγνυμεθα	
45 (253)	hic pietatis ho[mo]	αυτη της ευσεβιας τιμη]	
	s[ic] nos [i]n sceptrā	ουτως ημας ες τα βασιλια	
	reponis	αποτιθη	
(254)	olli subridens	εκινη υπομηδιων	
	[hominum s]ator	α[ν]θ[ρ]ω[π]ων σπορευς	
50	a[q]u[e] d[e]orum	[και τ]ων θεων	
(255)	vu[ltu] quo caelum	τω προσωπω οιω τ[ο]ν ουρανο(ν)	
	tempestatesque	και χειμωνας	
	serenat	ευδιν επιει	
(256)	oscula libavit	φιληματα [εθ] εσπισεν	

Frag. (b).

Recto.

55	[ille ubi matre]m	εκινος ως [την μη]τερα	
(406)	[agnovi]t	[α]νεγνω	
	[tali fugien]tem	τοιαν[τη] φε[υγουσαν]	
	[voce s]e[cutu]s est	φωνη εσπ[ετο]	
(407)	[quid natu]m totiens	τι τον υιον ουτ[ω πο]λλα	
60	[crudeli]s tu quoque	ωμη συ τε ομοιως	
(408)	[falsis l]udis	πλασταις πεζεις	
	[imagin]ibus	εικοσειν	
	[cur d]extrae	δ[ι]οτ[ι δε]ξια	
	[iungere] dextram	[ζευγνυναι δε]ξι[αν]	
65 (409)	[non da]tur	[ου διδοται]	
	[ac vera]s audire	και α[ληθεις ακουειν]	
	[et red]dere voces	και απο[δουναι φωνας]	
(410)	[talibus] in[us]at	τοιου[τοις επιτιμα]	
	[gressum]que	και το[ν στιβον]	
70	[ad moenia]	πρ[ο]ς [τα τειχη]	
(411)	[tendit at Venus]	τρεπει αλλα Αφροδιτη]	
	[obsuro]]
	[gradi]entis	[]

	[aere saep]s[it]
75 (412)	[et multo nebulae]
	[circum dea]
	[fudit amictu]
(413)	[cernere ne quis]
	[eos neu quis]
80	[contingere p]osset []
(414)	[molirive mor]am []
	[aut venien]dī []

Verso.

(418)	corripuere	αφηρπα[σαν]
	viam interea	την οδον [εν τουτω]
85	Qua semita	δι ης η ατραπ[ος]
(419)	monstrat: iamque	δηλοι λε[. .]ω[.]το
	ascendebant collem	ανηρχοντο τον [λοφον]
	Qui plurimus urbi	οστις πλιστο[ς τη πολει]
(420)	imminet	επικιται
90	adversasque	και τας κατα[κειμενας]
	a[s]pectan]t	θεωρουσειν
	[desupe]r a[r]ces]	υπερθεν ακ[ροπολεις]
(421)	[miratur molem]	θαυμαζει το [μεγεθος]
	[Aeneas]	ο Αινιας
95	[magalia quo]ndam	καλυβας πο[τε]
(422)	[miratur po]r[ta]s	θαυμαζει τα[ς πυλας]
	[strepitum]que	και τον θο[ρυβον]
	[et strata] viaru[m]	και τας λα[ινας οδους]
(423)	[instant ar]de[n]tes	εστηκα[σι προθυμοι]
100	[Tyrii par]s	οι Τυριοι [μερος]
	[ducere m]uros	αναγιν τ[α τειχη]
(424)	[molirique a]rcem	και μηχαν[ασθαι ακροπολιν]
	[et manibus]	και ταις [χερσιν]
	[subvolvere saxa]	υποκ[υλινδειν λιθους]
105 (425)	[pars optare]	μερ[ος ελεσθαι]
	[locum tecto et]	τοπον [τη οικια και]
	[concludere]	[ο]ρισ[ασθαι]
(426)	[sulco iura]	τω αυ[λακι νομους]
	[magistratusque]	και αρχ[ας]
110	[legunt sanctumque	εκ]λεγο[υσιν και ιεραν]

Frag. (c).

Recto.

(633)	nec minus interea	ουδε η[σσουν εν τουτω]
	s[oc]iis `ad litora' mittu[n]t'	^{απο[.]πει[μπει]} τοις ε[ταιροις προς ακτας]
(634)	[viginti] taurōs	εικο[σι βους]
	[magn]ōrum horrendia	μεγ[αλ]ων φρι[σσο]ντα
115 (635)	[terga su]um ^{cent[um]}	^{εκατ[ον]} ν[ωτα] νων
	[centum cu]m matr[ibus]	ε[κατ]ον μετα των μνηρω[ν]
(636)	[agnos munera]	[ελα]φους δωρα
	[laetitia]mque dei	[και] ιλαριαν του πεου
(637)	[at domus]	αλλα δη ο οικος
120	[interior]	ο εσωτερος
	[regali]	βασιλικη
	[splendi]da	λαμπρα
	[luxu]	πολυτελια
(638)	<u>in[st]ruitur</u>	καταρτ[υ]ε[ται]
125	[par]ant	ετοιμαζουσιν
	<u>convivia</u>	<u>συμποσια</u>
	<u>tectis</u>	<u>στε[[ρ]]γαις</u>
(639)	<u>arte laboratae</u>	<u>τεχνη με[μελημεναι]</u>
	<u>vestes</u>	<u>αισθητα[ις]</u>
130	<u>ostroque</u>	<u>πορφυρα</u>
(640)	<u>superbo ingen]s</u>	[
	

Verso.

(645)	[ipsumque ad] monia	αυτον τε προς τα τιχη
(646)	[ducat omnis in] ascaniō	^α [[ε]]ξει πασ[α εν Α]σκ[ανι]ω
	c[aro]	τιμιω
135	stat[us] [cu]ra	ισταται φρο[ν]τι[ς]
(647)	<u>parentis</u> · mu[nera]	πα[τ]ρος δωρ[α] π[ρος τουτοις]
	<u>praeterea</u> Iliā[cis]	α[ρπ]αζομενα
	<u>ērepta</u>	απο Ι[λ]ι[ακων] συμ]
(648)	<u>ruinis</u> · ferre iub[et]	πτ[ωσεων] λεγει φερειν]
140	<u>pallam</u> [[i]]signis	παλ[λαν] σημειοις]
	<u>auroque</u> rigentem	και χρ[υσω] στερεαν]
(649)	et circum[t]extum	και περιν[φαινομενον]
	croceō	^{οειδι} κροκ[[ιω]]
	velamen	περιπετασμ[α]
145	acantho	ακανθινω
(650)	ornatus Argivā[e]	<u>κοσμους `της' Ελλην[ικης]</u>

	Helenae	<u>Ελενης</u>
	quos illa	<u>ους</u> <u>εκ</u> [ει] <u>ν</u> [η]
(651)	My[c]e[n]is· [Pe]rgama	<u>Μυκηνων τα Περγαμ[α]</u>
150	[cum pete]ret	<u>οτε</u> ^ω <u>ορμα</u>
	[inconcesso]sq[ue]	<u>και εις τους ασυγχω[ρητους]</u>

1. It is surprising that so short a word should have occupied an entire line ; but the reading seems to be demanded by the Greek.

2. 1. ἡγεμόνας.

3. 1. ἀνακληθέντας.

4. *ονοματος* : more likely due to a confusion between *αἶμα* and *ὄνομα* on the part of the translator than to a reading *nomine*—not vouched for elsewhere—in the original.

7. [μι]α : no other supplement is possible with the space at our disposal. It is not necessary to infer that the papyrus read *una* (an otherwise unknown reading) for *omni* ; but it may be cited in support of the reading *omni* (with Mybc and Servius) against *omnis* (F¹) or *omnes* (F²V).

12. Perhaps add [εγω] at the end of the line.

19. 1. τύχη.

20. The scribe started to write *casibus* again and the slip escaped the notice of the *corrector*.

21. 1. ἐλασθεῖσι.

23. We should expect *των πονων* : but there is no room for the article and it is possible that *πονων* also was omitted.

25. The reading here is due to a confusion between *ἐν μέσῳ* and *διὰ* (or *ἐκ*) *μέσων*.

26. 1. Ἀχαιῶν.

27. *Illyricos* : the fourth letter is a *y* corresponding in shape to, but smaller than, the Greek upsilon, and distinct from the scribe's *u* ; it probably occurs again in *Mycenis* (l. 149). 1. Ἰλλυρικοὺς.

39. *abnuis* : *adnuis* MSS. This error seems to be peculiar to the papyrus.

40. *a[[r]]missi[s]* : a clear case of an error due to dictation. In all MSS. *amissis* follows *infandum*.

43. 1. *atque*. *Ιταλωνιων* : *vox nihili*.

44. *oris* after *disiungimur* has been omitted, also the corresponding word in the translation.

45. 1. εὐσεβείας.

46. 1. βασιλεία.

47. Probably read *ἀποτίθη(ς)* ; neither in the active nor the middle does *ἀποτίθῃμι* have the meaning *replace, restore*.

At the end of the line are some traces of black ink ; they may be an attempt at correction on the part of the third hand, but are more probably a smudge.

48. 1. ἐκείνη ὑπομειδιῶν.

49. *σπορεύς* in the sense of *father* is only quoted in Liddell & Scott from Themistius, *Orationes* 6, 77 b.

53. 1. εὐδεῖν.

54. The *o* of *oscula* was corrected from *s* and the *a* from *i* by the second hand. 1. εσπείσεν.

55. 1. ἐκείνος.

58. The line over *est* by the third hand was perhaps to indicate that it was misplaced.

61. 1. παίζεις.

62. 1. εἰκόσιν.

80. [*p*]osset, so PM etc. : *possit* GRγbc¹π.

83. ἀφαρπάζω is used to translate *corripere* in the Virgilian word-list, P.S.I. 756, and in that context (*Aeneid* II, 479) appropriately.

85. It is not clear why the initial *q* of this line, as also that of line 88, should be enlarged and project into the margin.

86. Whatever stood in the Greek version after *δηλοι*, neither *νυν* or *ἤδη* formed a part of it.
88. l. *πλείστος*.
89. l. *ἐπικείται*.
91. *aspectant* F²γ²π¹; *spectant* F¹; *aspectat* MPRbc. l. *θεωρουσιν*.
93. *moles* is similarly translated by *μεγεθος* in P. S. I. 756 (*Aeneid II*, 497).
99. *εστηκα[σι]* suggests that the papyrus may have read *adstant*, an error not quoted from any other MS.: perhaps more probably it is a mistranslation of *instant*. *προθυμοι* may overrate the intelligence of the translator; he was quite capable of writing *φλεγοντες*.
101. l. *ἀνάγειν*.
108. This line—*iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum*—condemned by Heyne and Ribbeck, clearly stood in the papyrus.
112. *ad litora*: added above the line in a cursive hand; the third *t* of *mittunt* was supplied, and the *n* deleted, by the original scribe. *αποπεμπει*, as also *εκατον* in l. 115, is written in a cursive hand, which may or may not be that of the original scribe.
114. *centum* was omitted by the first hand and added by the *corrector* in cursive writing below *horrentia*, as there was no room between the latter and *μεγ[αλ]ων*.
116. *pinguis* omitted by the first hand may well have been added by the *corrector* above the line. *μνηρω[ν]*: l. *μητέρων*.
118. l. *θεοῦ*. It is clear that the papyrus agreed with the MSS. in reading *dei*, in place of the *dii* (= *diei*) of Gellius.
122. l. *λαμπρός*: the reading was probably influenced by *splendida*.
125. l. *ἐτοιμάζουσιν*. The Milan fragment makes it clear that *mediisque* was omitted.
129. l. *ἐσθῆτες*.
132. l. *τείχη*.
133. *Ascanio*: added in a semi-cursive by the second hand.
134. *τιμίω*: we may infer that this translates *caro*, which was suggested by Baehrens (but has not met with the approval of editors) in place of the *cari* of the MSS.
138. l. *κροκοειδεῖ*.
140. The translator may have had in mind a word *πάλα* cited in Hesychius as meaning *ζώνη*, but it is more probable that he merely transcribed the Latin.
144. *περιπετασμα*: cf. Stephanus, Thesaurus, s.v. In spite of its presence in MSS., *περιπέτασμα* has often been changed by editors to *παραπέτασμα*; this instance, where it aptly translates *velamen*, suggests that it enjoyed an independent existence.
146. Vitelli suggested *Ελλην[ιδος]*; but Calderini's *Ελλην[ικης]* seems more appropriate to the translator's style.

479. FRAGMENTS OF THE DIGEST.

Acquired in 1917.

Frag. (b). 14.3 × 10.7 cm.

Sixth century.
PLATE 4.

These fragments belong to what must have been a remarkably handsome codex, written in a large uncial hand on papyrus light in colour and of fine quality. On purely palaeographical grounds the fragments might have been judged contemporary with P. Oxy. 1813, a fragment of the Codex Theodosianus in all probability earlier than A.D. 529, the year in which Justinian's first codex was published; there is a strong resemblance between the hands, but that of 479 is larger and slightly freer. It may further be compared with two other MSS., both of the type which Dr. Lowe would designate the

Byzantine Uncial: the Antinöe fragment of Juvenal,¹ dated by Dr. Lowe to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century, and, more important, the great Florentine codex of the Pandects. As compared with the latter (perhaps to be dated to the late sixth century), the resemblances are much more striking than the differences; but it should be noticed that in 479, *m*, as a rule, is less rounded than it is in the Florentine MS.—often the sign of an earlier hand—while *g* (as in the Antinöe Juvenal) has a long stroke to the left below the line and *s* has a slight slope to the right as in the Verona Gaius (Steffens, *Lat. Pal.* 18, fifth century). In general it may be said that 479 gives the impression of a hand freer and less stereotyped than that of the Florentine MS.; but it cannot be said that palaeographical considerations demand a date earlier than the fourth decade of the sixth century.

A complete column of writing would have measured some 22 cm. in height and 20 cm. in width; the page was probably not less than 32 × 26 cm. There were 32 lines to the page, and the average number of letters to the line is 35; there were 38 in lines 11, 12, and 29, and only 32 in line 34. The beginning of each *Lex* (to which a second hand has added a numeral in Greek) was marked by a large initial letter projecting into the margin, and each *Lex* began on a fresh line.

The fragments are widely separated; (a) and (b), which have been identified with *Digest* XXX, 11–13 and 22–6 respectively, though in the latter case the agreement is not complete, belonged to different sheets of papyrus, perhaps to different quires, as two pages must have intervened. The three smaller fragments have not been identified with a known text; but it seems that, unless the text varied considerably from that of the *Digest*, they do not belong to the same page as either (a) or (b). If the large S in l. 38 was the initial letter of a proper name, then it is probable that they are not even from the same book of the *Digest*.

The discrepancies between fragment (b) and the *Digest* are three. In the first place the Greek numerals at ll. 11 and 15, added in the margin by a second hand, should, according to the *Digest*, represent 23 and 24, not 22 and 23. But this is not an important difference, for, to judge by the Florentine MS. (Mommsen, *Praefatio*, pp. x–xi), there was no official numbering, and in any case mistakes in this matter would be too easy for it to be inferred here that our codex did not contain one of the *Digest* excerpts, XXX, 1–22. In the second place, in l. 17 the completion of the line from the *Digest* text would yield a line of 41 letters, considerably above the average. There are, however, several possible explanations, one of which is suggested in the note to l. 17.

The third discrepancy is more serious. In ll. 31–3 we seem to be at *Digest* XXX, 26, 1 which runs: *si certum corpus heres dare damnatus sit nec fecerit, quominus ibi ubi id esset traderet, si id postea sine dolo et culpa heredis perierit, deterior fit legatarii condicio*. Line 31 seems to have begun at *sit*, and line 33 ends with *cum bonorum*, the first words of the next section. It is clear that the papyrus did not contain the same text. If we estimate the lines as having contained at most 38 letters, which is well above the average, there is in l. 31 space for what is missing of the *Digest* text between *damnatus* and *traderet*.

¹ Edited, with plate, in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xxi (1935), pp. 199 sq., by C. H. Roberts; references will be found there to other reproductions of hands of this type. A full facsimile of the Florentine codex was published at Rome in 1910, *Iustiniani Augusti . . . Codex Florentinus*.

But the letter following *quominus* cannot be *i*, as it should be, nor can it be *u* (on the assumption that the scribe wrote *ubi* directly after *quominus*); we must assume that our codex had at this point a reading otherwise unrecorded. There is, further, another certain variant. In the next line, 32, *]oc si* cannot be picked up in the *Digest* text; moreover, from *-deret*, with which l. 32 begins, to *]um bo-*, with which l. 33 ends inclusive, is in the *Digest* text 78 letters, whereas a high estimate of two lines of the papyrus is 76. Of course the lines may have been specially crowded, or the papyrus may have omitted something—not necessarily by error, e.g. *postea* in the *Digest* text is meaningless. But *]oc si* shows that there was some positive variation; and though it would not be difficult to rewrite the text so as to produce *hoc si* at the right point,¹ yet this discrepancy raises the question whether our papyrus really was a copy of the *Digest* which was published at the end of A.D. 533. In general, corruptions are no less probable in an early copy than in a later, but in the present case we have to remember the extreme importance of an accurate text and the precautions laid down by the *Digest* itself in order to secure this. But it is difficult to see what else our papyrus can be, if it is not a fragment of the *Digest*. Eminent scholars have maintained that the rapidity with which under Justinian's orders the *Digest* was compiled must be explained by the pre-existence of a similar compilation of classical excerpts, which was utilized by Justinian's commission. In the extreme form of a pre-*Digest* this theory has been rejected by general opinion (cf. W. W. Buckland, *A Textbook of Roman Law*², p. 40, note 1), but the existence of less extensive compilations of the same kind on particular topics, such as *de legatis*, is not in the least improbable (see E. Albertario, *Introduzione storica* (1935), pp. 16 sq., with references there quoted, to which add P. Collinet, *Byzantion*, iii (1926), pp. 1–15, and Buckland, *Juridical Review*, 1936, p. 341). Nevertheless the exact coincidence between our text and the *Digest*, not merely in wording—and in the Vatican fragments small verbal variants are common—but in order of excerpts and in method of inscription at the beginning of each excerpt, and, further, the observance by the papyrus of the introductory constitution of the *Digest*, *Tanta*, s. 22, shown by its avoidance of abbreviation² and by the numbers of the books cited being written out in clear—all these are arguments, the last a very strong one, for the view that we have in 479 small fragments of a copy of the *Digest* or part of it made within a few years of promulgation. The sumptuousness of the codex points in the same direction.

One noteworthy feature of the papyrus is that, apart from the divergent passage in ll. 31–3, it contains, so far as it can be read, every one of the phrases which modern criticism, as represented by the *Index Interpolationum*, has suspected of being non-classical. It even confirms *quarto* in the inscription of *Lex* 13, which Lenel (*Palingenesia*, II, Pomponius, 439) corrects to *quinto*. But nowadays it is not necessary to consider that interpolations were made by Justinian's compilers; in many cases they are held to be pre-Justinian. Consequently their presence in our text cannot be used as an argument for its being a copy of the *Digest*; but the absence of an interpolation from a given text may be more significant. In *Lex* 26, 1, Ferrini (*Rendic. Ist. Lomb.*, 33 (1900), p. 699 = *Opere*, 4, 209) suspected the phrase *postea sine dolo et culpa heredis*; *postea* is meaningless, *eius* is required

¹ It may be noted that there is an inversion of order in the Greek paraphrase at this point, *Basilica*, 44, 1, 26 (ed. Heimbach, iv. 331–2).

² Only one is found: *e* for *em* at the end of l. 47; this is a mere oversight, as the division *habea|m*, ll. 19–20, proves.

instead of *heredis*, and *et culpa* is, to say the least, highly suspicious. We have therefore to admit that our variant occurs at a point where interpolation of the *Digest* text is practically certain.

Frag. (a).

Verso = xxx. 11.

.
[sua sibi filius obligari] non p[osset ac]
[pater non ut heres sed ut pat]er rog[ari vide]
[tur et ideo si filius rogatu]s sit p[ater post]
[mortem suam quod ad se pe]rven[it ex lega]

Recto = xxx. 12-13.

.
5 [pertine]r[e placuit voluntas ergo facit quod]
[in test]amen[to scriptum valeat]
[Idem libro] qua[rto ad Sabinum cum incer]
[tus homo] lega[tus tibi esset heres Stichum]

Frag. (b).

Verso = xxx. 22-4.

.
[desisset] e[ss]e[que]m [ad]mo[d]u[m insula legata]
10 [si co]m[m]u[n]a esset a[rea] p[ossit] vindicari]
κβ. P[er] a[ulu]s libro tertio ad Sabin[um si quis bonorum]
p[ar]tem legaverit ut h[odie fit sine fructibus]
re[stituit]ur nisi mor[a intercesserit here]
[dis]
15 κγ. P[er] m[ponius lib]ro quint[o ad Sabinum quod in re]
ru[m natura adhuc n[on sit legari posse vel]
[ut] i quicquid illa] a[n]q[illa peperisset constitit]
vel [ita ex vino quod in fundo meo natum est]
vel f[et]us tantum dato si usum fructum habea]
20 m eu[m]que legaverim nisi postea proprie]
tate[m eius nactus sim inutile legatum est]
si q[ui]s post testamentum factum fundo Titia]
.

Recto = xxx. 25-6.

.
[te legati in patris] p[otestate sit igitur]
[et si iussu patris a]dita [si]t here[ditas imputa]
25 [bitur ei in Falcidia]m

[Pomponius libro qui]nto ad Sabinum non [a]m
 [plius legatorum no]mine ad quemqu[a]m [pe]rti
 [nere videtur quam] quod deduc[to eo quod e]x
 [plendae condicioni]s causa datu[m esset sup]er
 30 [esset si certum corpu]s her[es dare damna]tus
 [sit nec fecerit quomi]nus s[.]t tra
 [deret h]oc si
 [c]um bo
 [norum parte legata dubium sit utru]m re
 35 [rum partes an aestimatio debeatur S]abinus
 [quidem et Cassius aestimationem Proc]ulus
 [et Nerva rerum partes esse legatas ex]istim[a]

Frag. (c).

	Verso.		Recto.

	Su[] .
	de[		]um
40	si[	45	]eav
	st[		]uit
	oc[		]rte(m)

Frag. (d).

	Verso.		Recto.

	]og[		] . an[
	]mbe[		]aço[
50	]ri[	55	]ni[
	]ais[		]te[

Frag. (e).

	Verso.		Recto.

	]leg[		]cu[
	]m[		] . pt[

17. As it stands, this line with 41 letters is considerably too long, the average number of letters to the line being 35. Hence it is probable that 479 had a different reading—perhaps *peperit . . . constat*.

20. The separation of the final *m* of *habeam* from the rest of the word is unusual, but is evidence of the scribe's unwillingness to abbreviate.

38. The *s* of this line, though it does not project into the margin, as do the initial letters of new excerpts, is double the height of the normal letter. The initial letter of the only proper name that occurs (Sabinus in

ll. 11 and 26) is, in accordance with usual practice, no larger than other letters. It cannot mark the beginning of a new *Lex*, as there is no *Lex* in the whole *Digest* beginning *Su* with which the traces of the subsequent lines can be reconciled. It might mark the beginning of a new paragraph, though the beginning of a new paragraph in l. 22 is not indicated in this way; or it may be the beginning of a proper name, either of a place or of a party to a case (no jurist seems possible in this context, as Servius Sulpicius is always cited in the *Digest* as Servius¹); but in neither case is it probable that the fragment belonged to *Digest* XXX.

59.]*mp*t[and]*op*t[are equally easy to read; the number of possibilities is too large to make speculation profitable.

480-1. MINOR FRAGMENTS.

These two small Latin fragments are included for the sake of completeness; both were acquired in 1917 and were in the same group as 474, 475, and 479, but neither appears to belong to any published Latin papyrus.

480 is written in a regular uncial hand, which may be assigned to the fifth century. There is no trace of writing on the recto; this may be explained on the ground either that the margins (as in 476) were irregular or that a space had been left to mark a division between chapters. It is improbable that a Latin literary text was in this period written on a roll. *Appella*[in l. 4 suggests that the text may have been legal.

481 is written in a crude mixed uncial hand, probably contemporary with that of 480; the ink is brown and the papyrus exceptionally light in colour. To judge from the way in which ll. 1 and 4 project into the margin, the text was divided into short sections; this, and the Greek numeration on the verso, suggest that this text also, like the others with which it was purchased, was juristic.

480.

3.1 × 3.1 cm.

Fifth century.
PLATE 3.

Verso.

. . . .
]t tum[
]rus pu[
]id ac[
]appella[
. . . .

481.

2.2 × 3.2 cm.

Fifth century.

Recto.

Verso.

. . .
fili[
. [
a[
ua[
. . .

. . .
5] . al
]s
]t
] . κη

¹ In I, 2, 2, 42. 43 he is referred to by Pomponius as Servius Sulpicius; but the passage does not suit this context.

III. NEW CLASSICAL TEXTS (GREEK)

482. FRAGMENT OF A TRAGEDY.

Acquired in 1920.

9.9 × 10.9 cm.

Second century.
PLATE 4.

Two fragments from the bottom of a column, separated by a small but continuous gap down the centre; the beginning (as a rule, a foot and a half) of each line is missing, and in the upper part the ends of the lines are also wanting. The text is written along the fibres in the square, calligraphic hand of which P. Oxy. 844 is a good example, and may be assigned to the earlier part of the second century; a peculiarity to be noted is the scribe's habit of forming the horizontal bar of an ϵ by bringing round the upper curve, i.e. of writing the letter in a single stroke. Accents are occasionally used; the apostrophe, to mark elision, occurs in l. 14, and the mark of short quantity in l. 11. For punctuation high and middle points are employed. The verso is blank.

There is unfortunately no certain clue whereby to identify the tragedy to which this fragment belonged. But the mention of Telephus in l. 3 may be regarded as certain, and as we also find a chorus sympathetic to him, and urging that an escort be given him across the sea, we can hardly go wrong in assuming that the play described Telephus' attempt to prevail on Achilles to heal his wound, and his own undertaking, in return, to guide the Greeks to Troy. There is nothing to indicate who is the speaker of ll. 1-15. The speaker is clearly sympathetic to Telephus and a person in authority—one of the Greek chieftains (? Odysseus, or perhaps Calchas, cf. Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles*, i, p. 96) who is eager for the fleet to sail. According to one form of the legend (see Nauck, *TGF.*², p. 579, introduction to Euripides' *Telephus*, and Pearson, *op. cit.*, pp. 94 sq., introduction to the Ἀχαιῶν Σύλλογος), Telephus gained his end by seizing the young Orestes with Clytemnestra's connivance and threatening to kill him were his demands not complied with; the stratagem was successful, and Achilles eventually consented to heal him. To this story Mr. D. L. Page would refer the present fragment; on his theory, the plot is being laid in the dialogue, part of which survives in ll. 1-15. Telephus is to get the fleet on his side; then a second person is to get Telephus into the palace, and, as there has been a proclamation (κηρύκειον) that no foreigner may be admitted, he is dressed as an ἀστός. Lines 7-10 may be interpreted as meaning that he is to go as a petitioner on the ground that he has been refused justice by the ἀγοί (in some imaginary cause), and thus seize his opportunity to kidnap Orestes; or they may mean, that, since in fact the ἀγοί (Achilles and his supporters) have refused him justice, i.e. have ignored his claims as a suppliant, he is determined, dressed as an ἀστός, to break into the palace. The latter explanation is perhaps simpler and all that the text demands.

It is highly improbable that this fragment formed part of Euripides' *Telephus* (for this play see Nauck, *op. cit.*, and Wilamowitz in *BKT.* v. 2, p. 69); there are no resolved feet, and neither diction nor style are particularly Euripidean. In Euripides' version Telephus appears, dressed in beggar's rags, as a *πυλωρός* before the palace, while here he is simply to appear as an *ἄστος*; nor is it even certain (Pearson, *op. cit.*) whether the Orestes incident was introduced at all. A *Telephus* is attributed to Aeschylus by the scholiast to Arist. *Ach.* 332, in which the seizure of Orestes occurred; Nauck (*op. cit.*, p. 76) regards the attribution as mistaken, but it is upheld by Pearson. There is nothing in our fragment, except possibly the metaphorical use of *γνάθος* in l. 12, to suggest Aeschylus as the author; if it is by one of the Three at all, then Sophocles would be the likeliest candidate. The story was treated by Sophocles in his *Ἀχαιῶν Σύλλογος* (his *Telephus* was probably a satyr-play), a fragment of which has already appeared in a Berlin papyrus (*BKT.* v. 2, p. 64); Pearson (*op. cit.*, p. 96) thinks that the Orestes incident formed no part of the play, but there are no substantial grounds for this view, and hence it is possible that our fragment is part of the same tragedy.

For assistance in editing this fragment I am much indebted to Mr. D. L. Page; in particular the supplements in transcription B are very largely his work.

TRANSCRIPTION A

.
]φ[
]κοιν[.]ερχετα[
]στήλε[.]εσταπέ[
]να[. . .]σκαικ[.]βερνη[
 5]αρω[.]εκνυκ[.]σειτασ[
]μεν[.]μβουλο[.]ελθετω[
]γαρημωνωσο[.]θοσεστα[
]ρωτακαινομ[.]ισελληνι[
]υσιχρηῖσθαιτ[.]στυχησαμ[. .] .[
 10]οισινεμπε[.]εἰν' αστοσγα[.]ωσ
]κηρυκεῖον[.]δάκνειπλεον·
]κοισαντησδαφεςπερασγναθο[
]ηνεθωμεθ[.]μνηστεινσεχρη
]τα' σοιδ' ὑπεξελείν πάρα
 15]μηπρόσχο[.]ονῶσανηρμόλη
]υντούτοιστ[.]ιμενξείνωι
]ινπομπου[.]παρατασσέσθω
]υαρχοστισ[.]ηρεσται·
]εκτουτω[. . . .] τοσεγωπαν

TRANSCRIPTION B

.
]φ[.
 [πρὸς τὸ] κοιν[ὸν] ἔρχετα[ι — — —]

- [ἔπειτα καταβά]ς, Τήλε[φ'], ἐς τὰ πε[— υ —]
 [σήμαινε] να[ύτα]ις καὶ κ[υ]βερνή[ταις τάδε,]
 5 [ἄφνω π]αρὰ[ν] ἐκ νυκ[τός]· εἶτα σ[όν υ —]
 [ἔργον· σὺ] μὲν [σύ]μβουλο[ς] ἐλθὲ τῶι [στόλῳι.]
 [ἐπεὶ] γὰρ ἡμῶν, ὥς ὁ [μῦ]θος ἐστ', ἀ[γοῖ]
 [δίκη] τὰ π[ρῶτα] καὶ νόμ[οις] Ἑλληνι[κοῖς]
 [εἴργο]υσι χρῆσθαι, τ[ῇ]ς τύχης ἀμ[αρ]τ[άνων]
 10 [τολμᾷ] δόμ[οις]ιν ἐμπε[σ]εῖν· ἀστὸς γὰρ[ρ] ὦς
 [εἶσ', ὃν τὸ] κηρύκειον ο[ὗ] δάκνει πλέον·
 [σὺ δ' ἐξά]γοις ἂν τῇσδ' ἀφ' ἐσπέρας γνάθο[ν·]
 [οὐ γάρ, τάδ'] ἦν ε[ὖ] θώμεθ', ἀμνηστεῖν σε χρὴ
 [τῶν εἰσέπει]τα· σοὶ δ' ὑπεξελεῖν πάρα
 15 [τῶνδ' εἴ τι] μὴ πρόσχο[ρδ]ον, ὥς ἀνὴρ μόλη.
 [ΧΟΡΟΣ ἄγε σ]ὺν τούτοις τ[ῷ] μὲν ξείνῳ
 [συμπλε]ῖν πομποῦ[ς] παρατασσέσθω
 [. . . να]υαρχός τις [ἀν]ήρ ἔσται·
 [τὸ δ' ἄρ'] ἐκ τούτῳ[ν αὐ]τὸς ἐγὼ πᾶν

3 sqq. 'Then, Telephus, go down to the . . . and reveal this to the sailors and the pilots, appearing suddenly after nightfall: then, friend, the task is thine: go thou as a counsellor to the host. For since, as thy story is to be, our leaders do from the first deny him the use of Hellene right and law, he, his fortunes failing, dares to break into the palace. For he will go as a citizen whom the herald's decree irks no more than another. Do thou set forth from this western promontory: for see thou forget not what follows, if our first plan go aright. Thine it is to remove all that agrees not with our plan, that Telephus may come here.'

Chorus: 'Come with their help, let some captain, if there be one here, command an escort to sail with the Stranger. For what follows myself will . . .'

3. Π[ε]ργαμα is the obvious supplement here and may, even in the context that the present reconstruction supposes, be correct; i.e. the speaker, who is Telephus' ally and probably (see introd.) in the Greek camp or palace, may say 'that we may start for Troy: tell this (? the fact that only under Telephus' guidance can the Greeks make the journey) to the sailors and pilots'. Another supplement is hard to find; Page suggests, tentatively, τα πε[λ]αγια: but points out that there is no evidence for such a usage.

4. να[ντ]ης is a possible, if less likely, reading.

5. There is no room for both τ and ο in the gap after κ: the scribe has actually left a small blank space after the κ. One of the two, then, was either omitted or written above the line—a fact of some importance for l. 13.

6. Compared with the ἐπει of l. 7, the supplement of this line is rather long, as the ε of μεν comes above the α of γαρ. But one and a half feet remain to be filled and I can think of no shorter alternative.

7–10. The end of this sentence is marked by the point in l. 10; verbs have to be found to govern both χρῆσθαι in l. 9 and ἐμπε[σ]εῖν in l. 10 (it is almost certain that they cannot be governed by the same verb, as they are unconnected and separated by the words at the end of l. 9); the verb for χρῆσθαι must surely be found in the preceding ο[υ]σι, that for ἐμπε[σ]εῖν at the beginning of l. 10 (the end of l. 9 being occupied with the phrase τ[ῇ]ς τυχῆς . . .). At the beginning of l. 8 we should expect the other noun demanded by καὶ νομοῖς ἑλληνι[κοῖς]; and if the sentence does consist of two clauses, l. 7 must have begun with the introductory particle, e.g. ἐπεὶ. Since both the sense of the whole and the presence of ἡμῶν demand that the subject be expressed, it can only have stood at the end of this line. The reconstruction given here does involve several difficulties, of which the most serious lies in the phrase ὥς ὁ μῦθος ἐστ'. The absence of the apostrophe to mark the elision is not of any consequence, since it is omitted after ἀφ' in l. 12. With the meaning 'as the story goes' (which, one must admit, it would not be easy to fit into the present context) ἐστίν is commonly omitted. In the sense of *report*, *news*, μῦθος occurs in the singular in *Ion* 1340 and in the plural in *Trachiniae* 67. Here

the sense might be 'as the report goes'. Page's rendering 'so shall thy tale run' is much more attractive, if the future sense of *ἔστι* here is allowed.

For *αγοι* cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 248: for *ἔργειν* with the infinitive without *μή* cf. Soph. *OT.* 129. If a subject for *χρησθαι* is felt to be necessary *δικηι σφε] πρωτα* could be read.

The dot of ink which I have interpreted as part of a *τ* near the end of l. 9 could belong to almost any letter.

10-11. *κηρυκειον* (the accent in the papyrus is false) is not cited in the lexica in the sense of *herald's edict* or *proclamation*: but it does not seem an impossible extension from its proper meaning and can find support in the *γράμμα κηρύκειον* of Soph. *Fr.* 784, interpreted by Pearson as 'the written instructions from which the herald makes his proclamation'. Perhaps we should see in *δάκνει* an allusion to the snakes with which the herald's wand was traditionally wreathed. *ου . . . πλεον*, i.e. not more than any other citizen.

The supplement to l. 11 is not entirely satisfactory; but *φέρων* or *οισει* would be inappropriate as there is no reason why Telephus (especially if dressed as an *ἄστός*) should carry the herald's wand. (It should perhaps be noticed that the *κηρύκειον* could also be carried by suppliants, v. Stephanus, *Thesaurus*, s.v.). *ε[λ]* *δάκνει* is possible palaeographically, but unhelpful.

12. Of the letter before *οις* all that can be seen is a small stroke, at a slight angle, near the top of the *ο*; a finial of this type is sometimes used by the scribe on the upper arm of a *κ*, and, although there is no sign in the papyrus of the lower arm, *κ* is slightly more probable than any other letter here. I have been unable to find any verb in *-κω* that would meet the requirements of this line. But *χ* would not be an impossible reading and even *τ* and *ν* cannot be excluded.

Apart from this difficulty, the meaning of the line is by no means clear. *γνάθος* must be used in the sense of *rock* or *promontory* in which it occurs once in Greek literature, in Aesch. *PV.* 726. But what can 'this western promontory' be? The *τησδε* implies either that it is visible from the scene of action, or at any rate not very distant. The scene of the play (see introd.) is laid in Argos, or perhaps in the Greek camp at Aulis; in neither case is the meaning of the phrase immediately clear. In the latter case it might refer to the hills west of Argos or conceivably to the coast of the Peloponnese opposite the long peninsula on which Troezen and Hermione stand, i.e. that stretch of coast might be called 'western' in contrast to the 'eastern' coast near Nauplia.

εξαγειν: intrans. *to go out* or *away* is only quoted from Xenophon and once from Homer (*Z* 726); here it is supplied in the lack of anything better. It is not clear who is the person addressed, perhaps one of the generals (? Odysseus) whose ships are to sail as soon as Telephus' *coup* is successful. Another interpretation is possible; that the reference in this line is to a signal to be given to the conspirators (the story, as reconstructed here, has two *foci* of action: the fleet (l. 4), and the palace (l. 10)). In this case the *γνάθος* might conceivably refer to the hills west of Argos; it is, however, more appropriately applied to cliffs.

13. *ηνεθωμεθ* is completely baffling. I can find no verb to which it can be ascribed, nor a suitable adjective if we divide *ηνεθωμεθ* (as *δυστηνε* is prohibited by the metre). A proper name may have stood here; but in the absence of a suitable one I have adopted Page's suggestion that we read *ε(ν)θωμεθ*—in view of l. 5 a less dangerous solution than might appear.

14. *εισπειτ]α*: cf. e.g. Soph. *Ajax* 35.

15. *πρόσχορδον*: not otherwise known in tragedy.

16. *ν]υν* or *δ' ο]ν* also possible. *ξεινωι*: for the use of this form in tragedy, v. Liddell & Scott (new ed.), s.v.

17. *συμπλε]ιν*: Page. Less likely is *ναυσ]ιν*.

483. FRAGMENT OF OLD COMEDY.

Acquired in 1917.

7.8 x 12.2 cm.

Second century.
PLATE 5.

Fragment from the lower part of two columns of a papyrus roll; the text is written along the fibres in a neat, rounded uncial of the second century. The scholia, in a small

upright semi-cursive, are probably by a second scribe. Change of speakers is indicated as usual by paragraphi; the punctuation, as well as the accent and the apostrophe in l. 10, was probably added by the second hand. The vocabulary suggests that the roll contained a play, no longer extant, of the Old Comedy. The verso is blank.

Col. i.		Col. ii.	
	· · ·	· · ·	
	]ειν	· [
	]	σ[
	]	15 στ[
	]ητῶν οδων· λ το εστι	ελ[
5	μ]ονοκοιτων αιει α μαλαττηι	ευδ[
	]λωδεν[.] .	απολ[
	]	αμα[
	τ]υρβαζετε	20 που[
	]σ[.]εγω] .. εγροιο() ονπο . [	ολιγ[
	]α λαμβανειν·	διων[
10	]δ' εκφαγοι	ορθω[
	] . [.] παιδιογ	τις δε[
	]s	25 [. . .] . [
	· · ·	· · ·	

4. The mark above των presumably calls attention to the scholion; λ probably = λε(ιπει), as Lobel suggests; the significance of the line above εστι is obscure.

5. μονοκοιτειν occurs in Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 592: μονόκοιτος is only cited from the Scholia to Lycophron, 960. The αιει is slightly below the level of the line and may have been added later. The scholion probably runs αν(τι του) μαλαττηι, though the α()ν() might stand for the name of a commentator.

7. τυρβάζω occurs several times in Aristophanes, ανατυρβάζω in *Equites* 310.

8. The letter I have read as ρ in the scholion might be a ξ: it appears to reach far below the line, unless this is a trace of another scholion in the line below.

10. ξεσθίω is found several times in Aristophanes and rarely elsewhere.

484. FRAGMENT OF A COMEDY.

Acquired in 1920.

12.2 × 8.8 cm.

Late first to second century.
PLATE 9.

This fragment of papyrus preserves on the verso part of two columns, with upper margin, of a literary text, to be attributed without much doubt to a comedy, although neither play nor author can be determined. On the recto are two fragmentary columns of accounts written in a good cursive hand, more probably of the later first century than of

the early second. Of the first column, little besides numerals survives; the second runs as follows:

Πετεχῶν Μάρωνος Τετ . () [
 ιε (ἔτους) γίνεταί (δραχμαὶ) εἰς το . . . [
 Πεσκαμοῦνις Παρώτου . [
 ε α ϛ κ(αι) ι ζ ϛ β (ἔτους) (γίνεταί) (δραχμαὶ) κα[
 Πετω() Τεω[

The fifteenth year may well be that of Domitian, the second that of Nerva; the former is less likely to be Trajan's, as we might expect a reference to a year later than the fifteenth when the second is mentioned so soon after. (In col. i the thirteenth and the fifteenth years occur.) A fragment of Menander's *Coneazomenae* (P. Ross.-Georg. I, 10) is also written on the verso of an account of the first or second century; but the description of the papyrus leaves little doubt that **484** does not belong to the same MS.

Neither of the two names in this fragment provide any clue to the authorship of the play: Syrus is too common to be significant, while Philostrate is apparently unknown in Greek and Roman comedy. There is no particular reason to connect this fragment with Menander's name, although there is nothing in the language or metre to prohibit us attributing it to him. The situation is almost as vague; the guess may be hazarded that the speaker is just about to set off in pursuit of an intruder who has, perhaps, run off with Philostrate.

The text is written in an attractive and practised book hand with some cursive affinities; its lack of formality and freedom suggest a comparison with texts of the late first rather than of the second century, e.g. P. Ryl. 54, Pl. 4 (which, however, shows consistently an earlier form of α); but the hand has also some points of resemblance with Schubart, *Pap. Graec. Berol.* 22 b, a document of the year 135. There are no accents, stops, or marks of elision; a change of speaker is indicated in the usual way in l. 17.

This papyrus belonged to the small group (which includes **457**, the early fragment of St. John's Gospel) whose origin was stated, in a note in Grenfell's hand, to be either the Fayûm or Oxyrhynchus.

TRANSCRIPTION A

Col. i.		Col. ii.
5]σεπ[.]ληλυθεν	10	οπωσενεργω[
]ημετ . στεμουσλογουσ		φιλοστρατητου[
]νουσ . [.]σεισωφερων		αυτηγαροποτα[
]α[.]χ . αρτονωσέχω		μικρανδιερ . [
]ωνδανθρασυσ		φυσικωστισ[
]ατουσ . [.]εμεφθασηι	15	ουθενιγαρη[
]νε[. .] . [.]ζεται		που[
] . ιγρουσυρου	B	ταχ[
]μει		. . . . .
.		

TRANSCRIPTION B

Col. i.		Col. ii.
] ^s ἐπ[ε]λήλυθεν		10 ὅπως ἐν ἔργῳ [
]ημετ' ὥστ' ἐμοὺς λόγους		Φιλοστράτη τοῦ[
?α]νοσί[ω] ^s εἴσω φέρων		αὐτὴν γὰρ ὁπότα[ν
]α[.]χ . ἄρτον ὥς ἔχω		μικρὰν δι' ἱερ . [
5 τ]ῶνδ' ἂν θρασύς		φυσικῶς τις [
]ατους . [.] ἐμὲ φθάσῃ		15 οὐθένι γὰρ ἡ[μῶν
]ν ἐ[ξ]ε]τ[ά]ζεται		ποῦ [
] . ιγρου Σύρου		B ταχ[
]μει		

2. ημεν, though possible, is a less likely reading as the cross stroke of the ν does not usually project beyond the first upright. The space between this letter and the σ is considerable, so that [ω]στ' is preferable to [ε]στ'.

3. Some way to the right of the first σ a vertical stroke can be clearly seen; if an iota, the gap between the two is rather large (though there seems to be another such pause at the beginning of l. 7); τ and π may be ruled out, as they would give a spondee in the fourth foot, and the stroke is too straight to be the second upright of an η. In the next place a large letter is required; α]νοσι[ω]s is at least a possible reading.

4. There is not much room between the χ and the α, but part of a vertical stroke can be seen—ρ seems the most likely letter.

6. The few traces of ink after σ would suit a δ well enough: δ[ι] εμε would be a possible reading.

7. Exactly 4 letters are required to fill the space between ε and ζ, and the slight gap between the ν and the ε suggests that the ε is the beginning of a word. ε[κβ]ι[α]ζεται is another likely candidate, but a τ would fill the space better than an ι; hence εξεταζεται is preferable. Both words are found in the fragments of Menander.

10. Either εν εργω or ενεργω might be read.

11. As Prof. Fraenkel pointed out to me Φιλοστράτ η το[could be read as well as Φιλοστράτη το[: but in itself it is less likely, and Philostratus gives no better clue to the author or nature of the piece than does Philostrate.

14. φυσικως. Not cited from any comic author in the dictionaries.

15. After γαρ ι . [could also be read.

485. CALLIMACHUS, IAMBI.

Acquired in 1920.

6.7 x 6.2 cm.

Fourth century.
PLATE 5.

This small fragment of a roll, written in a narrow, compressed hand in reddish brown ink, was immediately identified by Mr. E. Lobel as belonging to the *Iambi* of Callimachus; l. 4 is already known from the *Diegeseis* (VII, 19) as the initial verse of the fifth poem in the *Iambi*. The first three lines of 485 are thus the final lines of *Iambi* IV, the choliambic poem, the opening line of which is Εἰς (οὐ γάρ;) ἡμέων, παῖ Χαριτάδεω, καὶ σύ (*Diegeseis*, VII, 1 = Pfeiffer, 9, 206). Recently a considerable portion of *Iambi* V has been recovered in P.S.I. 1216

(originally published, in part, as a fragment of an epode of Archilochus, in *Atene e Roma*, 1933, pp. 7-12); P. Maas in *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), p. 438, originally suggested that this epode should be identified with the poem *Diegeseis*, VII, 19, and the full publication has confirmed this suggestion. P.S.I. 1216 contains part of the last ten or eleven lines of *Iambi* IV, but only the final letters of the lines, so that there is no actual join with 485; of the opening lines of *Iambi* V there appears to be no trace in P.S.I. 1216, but ll. 15-17 of the latter may correspond with ll. 8-10 of our text.

. . .
 . ηρ . [
 τοδ . [
εχει [
 ω ξεινε συμβουλη [γαρ εν τι των ιρων]
 5 ακουε ταπο καρδιης
 επει σε δαιμων αλφα βητ[
 ουχ ως ονηϊστον . [
 αλλ οιον ανδρ[.] σν[
 και σ[
 10 [ε]δωκε[

4. This line (*Diegeseis* VII, 19) was first correctly restored by Lobel (see P. Maas, *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), p. 438); with Lobel's reading of the papyrus the comment of the Diegetes on this poem runs: γραμματο(δι)δάσκαλον ὄνομα Ἀπολλώνιον, οἱ δὲ Κλέωνά τινα, λαμβίζει ὡς τοὺς ἰδίους μαθητὰς κατασχύνοντα ἐν ἡθείᾳ εὐνοίας, ἀπαγορεύων τούτῳι δρᾶν μὴ ἄλλω.

5. Cf. Euripides, *I. A.* 475.

6. Cf. Anth. Pal. xi. 437 (Aratus on Diotimus) Γαργαρέων παισὶν βῆτα καὶ ἄλφα λέγων, and Callimachus (ed. Pfeiffer) 9, 149 (as revised by Lobel in *Bodleian Quarterly Review*, vi. 139) μαν]θανόντες οὐδ' ἄλφα.

486. EPYLLION ON HERO AND LEANDER.

Acquired in 1920.

8.4 × 11.6 cm.

Late first century.
PLATE 6.

On the recto of this papyrus are two fragmentary columns of accounts; the first gives the amounts received in artabae of corn (the highest sum is 16 $\frac{27}{50}$), the second the names of the payers (among them Νεστ[, Φανιάς, Πολέμ[ων]). The hand of this document is remarkable for an ε formed in two distinct strokes, ε, and may be dated in the late first century A.D. The text on the verso, written in an upright, rather loose hand with a few cursive letters, is probably very little later.

The fragment of the hexameter poem on the verso is of some interest as its theme was apparently the story of Hero and Leander, which, apart from a few casual references, first appears in Greek literature in the poem of the grammarian Musaeus, assigned to the

2. τυφλοι: either (i) 'blind to something', metaphorically, or (ii), more probably, 'darkened' as in τυφλά σπιλάδες in Anth. Pal. 7. 275. 2.

3. The subject of this line is obscure, but it clearly refers to the sunset. καταδυνομενον: the ν is uncertain, but ς in any case cannot be read.

5. After the second α is an unusually thick downstroke followed by a break in the papyrus; it is probable that the scribe started writing the π of παλιν and then crossed it out, or else wrote αντιαις.

6. ιππευ. For the representation of Hesperus (and other stars) as young men on horseback cf. *RE*. s.v. Hesperos (viii. 1, 1253); Hesperus is sometimes portrayed as accompanying the Sun, cf. Nonnus, *Dion.* xii. 3, xxxviii. 299. This representation of Hesperus is commoner in art than in literature, but cf. Eur. frag. 999 (Nauck) 'Εφ'ος ἡνίχ' ἱππότης ἐξέλαμψεν ἀστήρ, and in Latin, Ovid, *Am.* i. 6, 65, Tibullus, i, 9, 62. Possibly Musaeus had some such passage as this in mind when he wrote λύχρον ἐμοῦ βιότοιο φαεσφόρον ἡνιοχῆα (218).

8.] . . ὄν is also a possible reading.

9. Perhaps καρτεροθυμ]ε Λαανδρε as in Musaeus, 301. τετηκε κτλ. This and the following words clearly refer to the flickering lamp (probably l. 10 began with λύχνος), called ἀστέρα λύχρον in Musaeus, 212, which was extinguished by the storm and was thus the cause of Leander's death (Musaeus, 329 sq.).

10. Perhaps we should put a stop after τηλεσκοπος (the word is used of the lamp in Musaeus, 237: εὐνῆς δὲ κρυφίης τηλεσκόπον ἀγγελιώτην) and supply εἶπε [δ' αὐτῷ], i.e. at this point Leander addresses the lamp.

487. EPIC FRAGMENT.

15.6 × 9.4 cm.

Late third to fourth century.

The papyri have already given us abundant evidence of the popularity of epic verse (sometimes worse than mediocre) in Egypt, from the earliest times of the Greek occupation (cf. P. Hib. 8 and 9, P. Grenfell II. 5) down to the Byzantine age. The present fragment, another witness to the revival of epic verse in Egypt which had its culmination in Nonnus, is peculiar in that its subject is taken directly from the *Odyssey*; in this, as far as I know, it is unique. A possible exception in P. Oxy. 1821 (third century A.D.), containing the opening words of nine hexameters in elegiac lines. L. 1 begins νοστοιτε . . ., l. 4 μοχθησας δ' ἀπελ . . ., l. 6 και τοξω μνη[στηρ . . .? This certainly suggests the return of Odysseus; possibly it is a fragment of the same poem. The greater popularity of the *Iliad* in Egypt is perhaps reflected in the fragments of hexameter verse where the subject is more or less connected with the story of the *Iliad* (cf. e.g. the papyrus published by Vitelli in *Atene e Roma*, vi. 53 (1903), pp. 149 sqq., and the mythological exercises published by Bishop Graves in *Hermathena*, v (1885), pp. 237–57, and identified by Reitzenstein, *Hermes*, xxxv (1900), pp. 103–5), but probably this is no more than the general legacy of the Epic Cycle in which naturally enough the story of Odysseus prior to his re-establishment in Ithaca found no place (the story of his return was omitted from the Νόστοι). The present fragment, undistinguished in style and metre and peculiarly disconnected, is perhaps no more than a school theme; possibly (see note on l. 32) it was a collection of extracts or of exercises on special incidents. But it is worth noting that the vocabulary is little influenced by that of Homer (there appears to be no actual reminiscence of the *Odyssey*), so that it is not a mere hotch-potch of Homeric phrases, and also that, as far as can be seen, the story—the return of Odysseus and his revenge on the suitors—is quite differently handled. On the verso, Odysseus appears to be giving a synopsis of his adventures (or possibly relating

what befell the other Ithacans), probably to Eumaeus, perhaps to Laertes; on the recto, after convincing a hearer of his identity by showing the scar on his thigh (his hearer is probably not Eurycleia to judge from the situation—perhaps Laertes, cf. *ω* 331), he urges his supporters to arm against the suitors.

The hand is rough and irregular, and degenerates into cursive at the ends of the lines; marks of elision are frequent, but breathings, accents, and punctuation are wanting. The papyrus was found among the early Byzantine papyri which formed part of the original purchase made by Dr. Hunt on behalf of Lord Crawford or Mrs. Rylands.

Verso.

.

]ελλ[
]δει[

. [.]ησωδ[.] . ρνοι [. .] ερ[. .]ετη[.]λ[
δυσμ[ορ[ο]ς Ελληνωρ τ[ο]ν [[δ]] αφηρπασε δωματα Κιρκης
5 ικελ[α] Αν[τ]ιφατη και ανδροφαγω Πολυφημω
αθανα[τ]ου . εσ[. .]ψατ[. . . .]ρητην αγορευσω
αιγος Αμαλθειας σ . λ . ο [. .] . [. .]εν αιγιοχος Zeus
[.]υριος ορμα[ι]νουσιν οτειο αρουρ[. . . .] . π[ι]ς
ου ρα . [. .] . θ . . ουθο . . [.]υκ . . . [. . .] . [.]εξ [ου]δεν εουσιν
10 ειμ[.] ανδρω(ν)
[.]ι
[.]οιμων
[.]ε μακελλαν
[.]ε ποθ' υδωρ
15 [.]ην επι βωλω
[.]θιος ανηρ
[.]β[. .]ρες
[.]κα . [.]

Recto.

.

] . . ρατι[
]μωι[

20 [.]ικ . [.]τ κιο [. .]αθληματα [Πη]νελοπειης
μη συ γ' απιστος εης ως ου νοστησεν Οδυσσευς
ουλην εισοραας την μηδ' ιδε Πηνελοπεια
παυεο νυν σταθμοιο Φιλοιτιε κ[α]ι σε μεθησω
25 μνηστηρας τρομεοντα ταις συν βουσιν αλασθαι
στησω σοι τεον οικον ελευθερον αλλα και υμεις
αμφ' εμε θωρησσεσθε κατ' Εγρυμαχοιο και αλλω(ν)
μνηστηρων κακοτητος επειρηθητε και υμεις
ικελα Τηλεμαχω και [εχεφρονη Πηνελοπείη]

30 βουκολε κατθεο[
 γεινεο μεν ποτι[
 [. μ] α[
 μαψιδιως εμα[
 εξοτε των αγελης επ[
 35 μνηστηρων κακοτητ[
 δευρ' απ εμου σωθ[
 δ[.] . . σ[

10. ανδρω P.

27. αλλω P.

11. 4 sqq.: '... unhappy Elpenor whom Circe's palace robbed of life. I will tell tales like unto that (?) of Antiphates and man-devouring Polyphemus ...'

11. 21 sqq.: '... the hardships of Penelope. That thou mayst not be mistrustful, thinking that Odysseus has not returned, thou seest the scar which not even Penelope hath seen. Leave now thy stable, Philoetius: I will release thee from the fear of the Suitors that thou mayst go thine own way with thy kine. I will set thee up thy house in freedom. But do ye others arm yourselves at my side against Eurymachus and the other suitors; their evil ways ye too have known, like unto Telemachus and steadfast Penelope. Herdsman, do thou set forth ...'

5. ικελα: cf. l. 29. There is no authority for this adverbial use; presumably it is formed on the analogy of ἴσα.

8. [κ]υριος might be read, but is not particularly convincing; θυριος (l. θουριος) may have been intended. After ορμα[ι]νονσιν, ετ could equally well be read as οτ, but there is no mark of elision after the τ; οτειο: perhaps a pseudo-archaic form of δτευ. The whole passage is so disconnected that I have attempted no reconstruction of ll. 6-9.

10. Perhaps εμ[Οδυσσευς: i.e. Odysseus discloses his identity to his hearer, Eumaeus or Eurycleia (or do μακελλαν and βωλω in ll. 13 and 15 imply that he is talking to Laertes?).

21. [α]θληματα. Here used in the sense in which Homer occasionally employs ἄεθλος, cf. ψ 248, 350 (in both passages there is a reference to the sufferings of Penelope).

26. It is not clear to whom υμεις refers: Philoetius and Telemachus (cf. ll. 24 and 29) are excluded.

32. Before the α are traces of letters deliberately expunged (though the space at the beginning of the line shows no trace of having been written on), but the α looks as though it were part of the present text. If so, it is not improbable that α[λλο should be read, i.e. the text consisted of a series of exercises or extracts.

488. FRAGMENT OF AN ANTHOLOGY.

Acquired in 1917.

2.7 × 15.7 cm.

Second century.

On the recto of this papyrus are traces in a very cursive hand, probably of the first half of the second century, of accounts, or perhaps of a register of names; the verso text is in a rounded and neat, but rather small book hand, probably not much later than the hand on the recto. The fragment contains the final words of 38 lines, separated by a gap after l. 9; those after the gap are fairly clearly hexameter verses, probably epic in character, but, unless we assume that τυχη (l. 8) is a mistake on the scribe's part (e.g. for α]τυχοίη), the first nine will not answer to this description. It is possible that these were elegiacs (cf. the short line 3, but l. 5 does not readily suggest a pentameter ending), and that the papyrus

itself was an anthology of poems in different metres ; if, as seems possible, the content of the verses was astrological, 488 would be closely analogous to P.Oxy. 464, a collection of astrological epigrams in hexameters or elegiacs. There are no accents or punctuation ; but an apostrophe may be noticed in l. 22. The correction in l. 26 is in the first hand.

	]	20	]ε τριγω[
	]		]τον εστ[
	μ]ελημα		]πος εστ' ε[
	]ιν		]λοχοιο
	υ]πτιον ωρης		]ν δε τυχ[
5	]ης μαλαπ[	25	]νων δε[
	τ]ετευχως		] εφοδ[[α]]'ο'ι[
	]αλης		]ωστε τρα[
	]υς εισιδε [		]μετοχο[
	]τυχη		]ποτε ηθ[
	]	30	]ς εμαθ[
10	]τεχοντα		]ν υπ αυ[
	π]αναριστη [		]οσοριζω
	]μακαρισ[τ		]ισι παρ[
	]εμμετ[		] αυξη θ[
	] . ταδε σ[	35	]λισιν ευ[
15	]εκατημ[		]δεσιν [
	] ιθυνοντ[		]τραν[
	] πυροεις τ[		]ιπ[
	] τριγων[
	]κε τα πα[

8. εἶσιδε P.

31. ὑπ P.

17. Πυροεις : perhaps a proper name, the planet Mars, which is frequently mentioned by Manetho.

18. τριγωνος (cf. also l. 20) is used by Aeschylus (*P.V.* 813) of the Egyptian Delta ; the allusion may be the same here. It is applied to the stars by Manetho, e.g. i. 346, ii. 348.

489. LYSIAS 'Υπὲρ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους φόνου and 'Υπὲρ Ἐρυξιμάχου.

Acquired in 1920.

12.3 x 24 cm.

Late third to fourth century A.D.
PLATE 10.

This papyrus consists of the inner half of a leaf from a papyrus codex, the other half of which was acquired by the British Museum and published as P. Lond. Inv. 2852 by H. J. M. Milne in *J.E.A.* xv (1929), pp. 75-7, under the title *A New Speech of Lysias*. The join is close, so much so that a horizontal strip which projects from the London fragment fits exactly into its place and forms ll. 11-12 of col. i recto, the rest of which is contained in the Rylands papyrus. The London fragment is smaller but much better

preserved than **489**, which is considerably more worm-eaten and in parts badly rubbed. (This may perhaps indicate that the separation of the two pieces is not of recent occurrence.) The codex, as was already clear from the London fragment, had two columns to the page, so that the two fragments together provide us with four columns of varying degrees of completeness, of which the Rylands fragment contributes i (with the exception of the horizontal strip already mentioned and the final letters of a few lines) and iv, the London fragment ii and iii. With Mr. Milne's permission, I have reprinted the London text (with the alterations necessitated by the new fragment in col. i), since the addition to the new speech 'Υπὲρ Ἐρυξιμάχου μείναντος ἐν ἄστει is considerable and it may be of advantage to have all that remains of it assembled together.

For a palaeographical description of the MS. the reader may be referred to Mr. Milne's article. It may be as well to repeat here that the punctuation is marked only by paragraphi and (irregularly) by spacing, and that apart from the horizontal lines to mark contraction there are no other signs. **489** has preserved the lower margin of the leaf—5 cm. in depth—so that we can more easily calculate the size of the leaf and the number of lines to a column; assuming that the upper margin (which, together with the initial lines of each column, is completely lost) was equivalent to the lower, we can estimate that a page of the codex was c. 32 cm. in height and 25 cm. in width, and that each column consisted of c. 45 lines. Mr. Milne assigns the script to the early fourth century; but although papyrus codices containing non-Christian literature are rare before the fourth century (see, however, in this volume **498** and **549**), a certain freedom and absence of the rigid formality common in fourth-century MSS. of this type suggests to me that a date in the later third century should not be excluded. While **489** was not accompanied by any indication of provenance, Mr. Milne was able to assign P. Lond. 2852 definitely to Oxyrhynchus.

As Mr. Milne has pointed out, the text of Oratio I, 'Υπὲρ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους φόνου, in our papyrus is older by eight centuries than the Heidelberg codex (Codex Palatinus 88), on which we are mainly dependent for the text of Lysias. His statement, however, that the papyrus does not support the changes proposed by Herwerden now needs qualification as the papyrus clearly gives τὰ τοιαῦτα in l. 15. Divergences from the accepted text of this speech are numerous, but rarely convincing, and our faith in the authority of the papyrus is shaken by the unredeemed confusion in which it is involved in ll. 26 sqq. The text has been collated with that of Hude (Oxford Classical Texts).

The main interest of the papyrus lies in the new speech—'Υπὲρ Ἐρυξιμάχου μείναντος ἐν ἄστει—to which the Rylands fragment makes a substantial contribution. Mr. Milne put forward the attractive suggestion that the Eryximachus for whom it was written was the scholarly and sophistic doctor of the *Symposium*, nor is it in itself surprising that a member of the Socratic circle should be impeached for sympathy with the oligarchs, nor—even if the speech was complete—would we expect him to mention on such an occasion his relationship to such a suspect body. Against this must be set the very probable hypothesis advanced by Burnet (*Greek Philosophy*, Part I, p. 190) that the Eryximachus of the *Symposium* is to be identified with the Eryximachus mentioned by Andocides (I, 35) as being involved together with Acumenus (and that was the name of the physician's father) and others in the profanation of the mysteries in 415. Andocides further asserts that all those whom he

names in that passage either fled the country or were arrested and executed; that any of them should be living in Athens in 403 or after is somewhat improbable. But the Rylands fragment is, I think, decisive. This makes it clear that the Eryximachus for whom Lysias wrote this speech not only fought at Aegospotami (the context does not allow us to think of any other battle), but was a στρατηγός on that occasion—at least the words τῶν ἐμῶν τριηρά[ρχ]ων in l. 106 hardly allow of any other interpretation. (Only three of the strategi of that year are known to have taken part in Aegospotami—Conon, Adeimantus, and Philocles—and though we have the names of eleven strategi in all for that year, some of these were elected after the battle to fill the gaps left by death or absence; hence there is room for a new strategus, cf. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*,² ii. 2, 268, and Krause, *Attische Strategenliste*, pp. 14 and 46.) If it is unlikely that the rather professional physician of the *Symposium* should be elected strategus in 405, it is inconceivable that any one implicated in the affair of 415 should hold that office in 405. I think, therefore, that the identification with the Socratic doctor must be reluctantly abandoned. Nothing is known of any other Eryximachus in this period, although the name is known from IG. II². 3063 as that of the father of a certain Eryxias who was χορηγός sometime between 400 and 350; it is certainly strange that he is not mentioned by any of our authorities for Aegospotami.¹ According to the generally accepted account (Xenophon, *Hell.* ii. 1, 29; Plutarch, *Lysander*, 11) Conon's squadron, together with the Paralus, was the only one to escape. The number of ships is variously given as nine (Xenophon and Plutarch) or ten (Diodorus, xiii. 106), while Lysias (xxi. 11) mentions twelve ships as being saved, one of them being that of his client, another that of his client's friend Nausimachus. The explanation probably is that Conon's was the only squadron to evade the enemy; a few other scattered ships made good their escape either direct to Athens, or perhaps to Sestos, where Lysander, the victory over, treated the men with some mercy and sent them back to Athens. None the less it is surprising that Eryximachus, especially if he was a strategus, should return to Athens and go on living there under the restored democracy—it was long before Conon dared to return—and that no more serious charge should be brought against him.

The charge itself—μείναντος ἐν ἄστει—is peculiar; not only does it appear an indefinite accusation to bring at any time, but after 403 it would seem to involve a flagrant breach of the amnesty issued by the democrats on their return to Athens. That the charge was malicious, perhaps an attempt to enlist political passion in the cause of a private quarrel, at any rate that the political issue was not serious, may be inferred from the fact that such a devoted democrat as Lysias, who had suffered heavily from the persecution of the Thirty, composed the speech. Incidentally, the papyrus may solve a problem connected with Oratio XXI, which goes under the title of Ἀπολογία δωροδοκίας. The title of this speech is not improbably spurious and the name of the client for whom it was written is unknown; no specific charge can be clearly deduced from the speech, though it has been thought that the charge was one of unsuitability to hold an office; if so, it is strange that no particular office is named. The situation of Lysias' client in that speech—he also had saved his

¹ It is possible that the Eryximachus of this speech should be identified with the brother-in-law of the Athenian general Chabrias mentioned by Demosthenes, xl. 24; but the latter would have been rather young to have been a strategus at Aegospotami (cf. the *stemma* of his family in Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, i, p. 256). I owe the suggestion to Mr. M. N. Tod.

trireme at Aegospotami and voices his claim to his country's gratitude in much the same language as does Eryximachus—is very similar to that of Eryximachus, and it seems not improbable that in his case, too, the charge was one of 'staying in the city'. It is clear from another speech, XVI Ὑπὲρ Μαντιθέου, which also bears some resemblance to ours, that even as late as 394–89 (when XVI was probably composed) the mere suspicion of connexion with the Thirty was sufficient to arouse prejudice, and the frequent occurrence of the phrase μέιναι ἐν ἄστει in the speeches of Lysias shows that it was a stock charge regularly hurled against all who had not made their allegiance to the democracy conspicuous by withdrawing to the Peiraeus in 403. No date can be assigned to the speech; XVI shows that it may be as late as fourteen years after the event on which the charge was founded.

In col. i, recto, the few words or letters preserved in the London fragment are printed in heavy type. Accents, breathings and punctuation have been inserted throughout to preserve conformity with the London publication.

Col. i.		Recto.	P. Ryl. 489.
	. . . . . [κίν-]		των ἡττον εἰς τοὺς ἄλ-
	[δυνον] [ἐκινδύνεον]ν εἰ		λους ἐξαμαρτήσου[τ]αι
	[μῆ] τὸ [μέγιστον τῶν] ἀδι-		20 εἰδὲν καὶ ὑμᾶς ὁρῶσι τῇ(ν)
	κημά[τω]ν [ἦν ὑπ' αὐτ]ο[ῦ]		αὐτὴν ἔχοντας γνώμη(ν).
§ 46	ἡδίκη[μένος; ἔπειτα] πα-	§ 48	εἰ δὲ μῆ, πολὺν κάλλειον
5	ρακαλέ[σας αὐ]τὸς μάρτυ-		τοὺς μὲν κειμένους νό-
	ρας ἡσέ[βου]ν, ἐξόν [μ]οι, εἰ-		μους ἐξαλείψαι, ἑτέρους
	περ ἀδίκως αὐτὸν ἐπε[θ]ύ-	25	δὲ τιθέναι οἵτινες μέ(ν)
	μουν ἀ[πο]λ[έ]σαι μηδένα		φυλάττοντες τ[ὰς] ἑαυτῶν
	μοι τούτων [σ]υνειδένα[ι;]		γυναῖκας τ . [.] . . [.]νς ταῖς
§ 47	10 ἐγὼ μὲν ο[ὔ]ν, ὧ ἄνδρες		ζημία[ις] ζ[η] . .]σουσιν, τοῖς
	δικασταί, [οὐ]κ ἰ[δί]αν ὑπ[ὲρ]		δὲ βουλομένοις εἰς αὐτοὺς
	ἐμαυτ[ο]ῦ νομίζω γενέσ[θαι]	30	ἐξαμαρτάνειν πολλήν
	[τῇ]ν τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ	§ 49	ἄδ[ε]ϊαν π[οι]ήσουσιν. πολὺν
	τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσ[ης]. ο[ἱ] γὰρ		[γὰρ] οὕτω δικαιότερον ἢ
15	τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττοντες ὁρῶ(ν)-		[ὑπὸ τῶν] μ[ό]μων τοὺς πο-
	τες οἶα τὰ ἄθλα πρόκειται		[λίτας ἐνεδρεύ]εσθαι οἱ
	τῶν τοι[ο]ύτων ἀμαρτημά-		
11. ὑπὲρ P.	15. ορῶ P.	20. τῇ P.	21. γνωμῇ P.
22. 1. κάλλιον.	25. μὲ P.		
Col. ii.		P. Lond. Inv. 2852.	
	. . . . .	40	ἐν ἄστει
35	[ἀ]πολογία		μάλιστα μὲν ἐβουλόμην(ν),
	περὶ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθέ-		ῶ ἄνδρες δικασταί, μὴ
	νους φόνου		κινδυνεύειν μήτε ἰδίᾳ
	ὑπὲρ Ἐρυξιμά-		πρὸς τῶν πολιτῶν μη-
	χου μείναντος	45	δένα μήτε δημοσίᾳ πρὸς
			τὴν πόλιν, εἰ δὲ μῆ, τοῦ-

το γοῦν ἑμαυτῷ συνειδέ-
[ναι ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν
εἰς ἀγῶνα καθ]έστηκα.

38. ὑπερ P.

41. εβουλομῇ P.

44. 1. πολιτῶν.

50 [. γνων]αι, ὦ ἄν-
[δρες δικασταί,] . υ
[.]ν

Verso.

Col. iii.

P. Lond. Inv. 2852.

[. .]ν[
[. .]ν[
55 [. .]ν[
[. .]ντ[
[. .]τ[
ξο[
κατη[γορ ἀπολο-]
60 γήσομαι. [οὐ γὰρ διὰ τήν]
τῶν ἐχθρῶν ποι[η]ρ[ίαν]
ἀξιῶ σώζεσθαι ἀλλὰ
πολὺ μᾶλλον] διὰ τήν ἐ-
μαυτοῦ χρηστότητα. διὰ
65 τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τῷ σώματι
π[ο]λλοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κι(ν)-
δύνους ἐκινδύνευσα,
καὶ τῶν πατρῶων πολλὰ

66. ὑπερ ὑμων κῖ P.

69. ὑμας P.

70. ἵνα P.

76. με P.

79. ἰδ[P.

προθύμως εἰς ὑμᾶς
70 ἀνήλωσα, ἵνα καὶ ἡ πόλις
κατὰ τοῦμὸν μέρος εὐδ[αί]-
μων εἴη, καὶ εἴ ποτε ἀδίκ[ω]ς
εἰς ἀγῶνα κατασταίην
θαρρῶν περὶ τῶν ἑμαυ-
75 τῷ πεπραγμένων λό-
γον διδοίην. ῥάδιον μὲ(ν)
οὖν γινῶναι, ὦ ἄνδρες δι-
κασταί, ὅτι εἴπερ ἐδύναν-
το οἱ κατήγοροι ἰδ[ί]α ἐμὲ]
80 ἀδικοῦντα ἐ[φ]ευρεῖν οὐ-
κ ἂν τις [.]
την [.]

Col. iv.

P. Ryl. 489.

.
ε[. c. 18 letters]
ξηρ[. c. 17 „]
85 λων[.] . [. .]
νθε[.]επ .
πεπ[.]γ[. .]ς
δ[. .]κ[. .] χω ην[. .]θα
εἰ τιν[. .]ς . ἀλλ[. .]σχ[. .]ει[. .]ν
90 [. .] . α . α . [. . . .]ν[. .]ν ἐγὼ
δὲ νῆ Δ[ί]α ωδ[. .] τῇ(ν)
ἀλλ[α]γ[ή]ν[.]ων ἀπο
λε[. . . .]ι[. . . .]π[. .] ὑπὲρ ἐ-
μαυτοῦ[. . . .] ἀ[πο]φῆναι ἐ-
95 ἀν ἀδ[ικῶ]ν ἀλίσκωμαι
καὶ χ[ά]ρι[ν] κομίζεσθαι ἐ-
ἀν το[. .] . ων . [. .]ν ἄξι[ος] ἀ-

[ν] ἦν σαι ἐξο[. .] . ἀ δ' ἔ-
π[α]θ[ο]ν[ν] ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀπολογήσο-
100 μαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐγὼ γὰρ
πολλὰ κακὰ ποι[ή]σας τοὺς
πολεμίους κατέπλε[ν]-
σα σώσας ἐκ τῆς ναυμα-
χίας τήν ἑμαυτοῦ τριήρη
105 καὶ τελευτησάσῃ(ς) ἕνα ἐκ
τῶν ἐμῶν τριηρά[ρχ]ων [. .]
· . . ἀπέλυσα ἤδη τῶν τοίχῳ(ν)
καθηρημένων. καὶ ἐ-
πὶ τῶν τριάκοντα, ὦ ἄν-
110 δρες δικασταί, οὐδεὶς ἂν
ἐμὲ ἀποδείξαι δύναίτο
ἢ βουλευσάντα ἢ ἀρχήν
ἄρξαντα· ἀπαγαγόντων δὲ

αὐτῶν ἐχθρῶν τινὰ [τι]μ[ω-]
 115 ρησάμενον ἢ δίαϊταν κ[α-]
 ταδαιτησάμε[ν]ον ἢ εἰς τὸ(ν)

κατάλογον τῶν μετὰ Λυσά(ν)-
 δρον τ[ιν]α ἐν[γρ]άψαντα
 ἢ τ[. . .]ισχ . [.] . ν γινε

91. τῇ P.

93. ὑπερ P.

107. 1. τειχῶν. τοιχῶ P.

116. τῶ P.

117. λυσᾶ P.

35-50. 'On behalf of Eryximachus, charged with having stayed in the city.

I should prefer above all things, gentlemen of the jury, to be exposed to no dangers, either in a private suit against any citizen or in a public suit against the State, but if that is impossible, to have a clear conscience on this point at any rate, that I am in my present dangerous position through no misconduct of my own. This you may know, gentlemen of the jury . . .'

59-82. ' . . . I will say this in answer to the accusation. For I do not base my claim to acquittal so much on the villainy of my enemies as on my own good character. For my object in exposing my person to so many hazards on your behalf and in spending ungrudgingly so much of my inheritance in your interests was that the State might prosper, as far as it lay with me to secure this, and that, were I ever brought into court on a false charge, I might with confidence render an account of my career. You will then easily realize, gentlemen of the jury, that if my accusers had been able to find me out in some private misconduct, they would not (have laid at my door the wrongdoings of the Thirty Tyrants . . .).'

98-119. ' . . . I will urge in my defence before you what I myself have suffered as a result of my conduct (?). For after inflicting much damage on the enemy I sailed home, thus bringing my own trireme safe out of the battle, and after it was over, at a time when the Walls were already being pulled down, I ransomed one of my own trierarchs. In the time of the Thirty Tyrants no one, gentlemen of the jury, could point to me as having served on the Boule or as having held any office in the time of the Thirty Tyrants, nor, in the time of the inquisition, as having taken vengeance on any of my enemies either by getting an arbitration given against him or by enrolling his name on the list of those who were with Lysander . . .'

3. For reasons of spacing the ἦν of the medieval MSS. is preferable to Hude's ἦ.

5. παρακαλέ[σας: probably corrected from παρακελε[σας.

7. ἐπεθύμουν αὐτόν MSS.

11. δικάσταί: not found in any of the MSS.

12. The MSS. insert ταύτην between νομίζω and γενέσθαι.

15. With the scanty evidence of the London fragment, Milne concluded that there was no room for Herwerden's supplement τά before τοιαῦτα—reasonably enough, for as it stands, this line, with twenty-three letters, is longer than any other in the text. No support, however, is given to Herwerden's insertion of κοινήν after ἀλλά in l. 13.

19. The papyrus supports the other MSS. against ἐξαμαρτήσουσιν which is the original reading of X (later corrected). The traces just below the end of this line, which Milne read as σι and which he thought might be a trace of the alternative reading, can now be seen to be due to the mark of abbreviation over τή(ν) in the subsequent line.

20. καί. Here the papyrus supports X against the δέ of N, and the γε of M^c.

21. γνώμην ἔχοντας MSS.

25 sqq. τιθέναι the papyrus: θεῖναι MSS. In these lines the text of the papyrus is seriously corrupt. The true reading is οἵτινες τοὺς μὲν φυλάττοντας τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας ταῖς ζημιαῖς ζημιώσουσι κτλ. What happened, presumably, was that τοὺς was first lost and the φυλάττοντας was changed to -ες. What the reading of the papyrus was in l. 27 is quite uncertain; the eighth letter from the end looks rather like a χ, but if μοιχούς is read there is only room for two letters between it and γυναῖκας. The MSS. record no trace of any intervening words between γυναῖκας and ταῖς. In l. 28 ζημιώσουσιν cannot have been written in full: there is just room enough to read ζ[ημι(ω)]σουσιν. The MSS. read ζημιώσουσι.

29. αὐτάς MSS.: αὐτοὺς (i.e. νόμους) the papyrus: there can be no doubt that the MSS. reading is the correct one.

31. ποιήσουσι MSS.

40. The phrase μέιναι ἐν ᾧσται is continually coming in the speeches of Lysias and was obviously used as a catchword to brand any one suspected of anti-democratic tendencies. Cf. xxv. 1 ὑμῖν μὲν πολλήν συγγνώμην

ἔχω . . . ὁμοίως ἅπασιν ὀργίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐν ἄστει μέινουσι: xxv. 18: xxvi. 16 καίτοι γε αὐτὸν ἀκούω λέγειν ὥς οὐ περὶ αὐτοῦ μόνον ἡ δοκιμασία ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ περὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἄστει μεινάντων, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσκειν, ὥς ἐκ τούτων προσληψόμενον αὐτὸν δοκιμαστὰς τοὺς ἐν ἄστει μέινοντας.

63. For this candid expression of his own worth cf. Oratio XVI, 2.

78. Cf. Oratio XXV (Δήμου καταλύσεως ἀπολογία), 5 εἴπερ ἐδύναντο οἱ κατήγοροι ἰδίᾳ με ἀδικοῦντα ἐξελέγξαι, οὐκ ἂν τὰ τῶν τριάκοντα ἁμαρτήματα ἐμοῦ κατηγοροῦν. The first clause is so exact a parallel to ll. 78–9 that I thought it might perhaps be continued, and that in 80 sqq. we should read ἀδικοῦντα ἐ[ξελέγχειν οὐ-]κ ἂν τὰ [τῶν τριάκοντα ἁμαρ-]τημ[ατα κτλ. But though τημ[can be read in l. 82, Milne informs me that the letter after τ in l. 81 is tall and too near to the τ to be α. With κατήγοροι in l. 79 τίς comes in rather awkwardly.

82. Between this and the next column there is a gap of about fifteen lines.

97. The traces do not suit τούναντιον.

100 sqq. Cf. the similar speech, XXI, 8 ἢ πόσα τοὺς πολεμίους εἰργάσθαι κακά; referring in part at least, as the sequel shows, to the speaker's conduct at Aegospotami.

101. Unless this is a rhetorical exaggeration, the damage inflicted by Eryximachus on the enemy can hardly be other than the removal of the sails of Lysander's fleet carried out by Conon before he sailed to Cyprus. No account of the battle suggests that any trireme which escaped can have done any serious fighting.

104. Cf. XXI, 9 ἐγὼ τήν τε ἐμαντοῦ ναῦν ἐκόμισα κτλ.

105 sqq. The reading τελευτησάση(ς) (sc. τῆς ναυμαχίας) is neither certain nor very satisfactory. But τελευτήσας is not used in the sense of τελευτῶν—certainly not in Lysias—nor can any form of the participle beginning with τελευτησαν- be read. The letter before ἀπέλυσα in 107 looks like a σ, but the space does not allow us to read αὐτός.

107. Cf. XVI, 4, P. Oxy. 1606 (Lysias, πρὸς Ἱπποθέρσην), 196.

108 sqq. Cf. XXV, 14 οὐ τοίνυν οὐδ' ἐπειδὴ οἱ τριάκοντα κατέστησαν, οὐδεὶς με ἀποδείξει οὔτε βουλεύσαντα οὔτε ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν ἄρξαντα. Cf. also XVI, 3.

115 sqq. Cf. XXV, 16 οὐ τοίνυν οὐδ' εἰς τὸν κατάλογον Ἀθηναίων καταλέξας οὐδένα φανήσομαι οὐδὲ δίκαιαν καταδικαιησάμενος οὐδενὸς κτλ. To enroll a man in the 'list of the Athenians' is clearly as good a way of satisfying a grudge as getting an arbitration given against him; and as the latter procedure is disclaimed here, in a very similar case, it seems probable that the former should be identified with the κατάλογος τῶν μετὰ Λυσάνδρου. I have found two other references to this expression, both in the speeches of Isocrates, 18. 16 and 21. 2; the former runs νῦν δὲ οὐδένα φανήσομαι τῶν πολιτῶν . . . οὔτε ἐκ μὲν τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς πολιτείας ἐξαλείψας, εἰς δὲ τὸν μετὰ Λυσάνδρου κατάλογον ἐγγράψας. The context makes it obvious that Isocrates is referring to the period of the rule of the Thirty, not to that of the restored democracy. I have found no other reference to or explanation of 'the list of those with Lysander': but it seems likely that the names of well-known democrats were expunged from the citizen roll by the Thirty in 404 and sent to serve in Lysander's forces (it is clear from the passage of Isocrates already quoted that the latter penalty involved the former also); and that this was one of the many ways in which, during that period, private feuds were settled by political methods.

In the general confusion occasioned by the confiscation of property by the Thirty, and the number of citizens exiled by both sides, there must have been an unusual number of suits requiring arbitration.

490. ANONYMI PHILIPPICA.

Acquired in 1920.

(a) 10.5 × 16.2 cm. (b) 10.5 × 28.5 cm.

Third century B.C.
PLATE 8.

The two fragments comprising the text do not touch at any point, but their relationship can be determined by internal evidence; on the extreme left side of fragment (b) are the final letters of the first eighteen lines of col. ii of fragment (a), while for the lower part of

the same column we have to rely on fragment (b) alone. In all there are parts of three consecutive columns. The text, written along the fibres of the papyrus, is in a hand of a distinctively third century type and may in all probability be referred to the early part of that century. The hand may be compared with that of the Elephantine Scolia, BKT. V. xv—c. 300 B.C. (for the date see Schubart, *Pal.*, p. 101)—although the ω in the latter is of an earlier type, and also with P. Petr. XXIV (2), a legal document of 270 B.C. The writing is of the free and open type in which individual letters vary so much in size that it is impossible to estimate exactly how many are missing in a given gap: σ and θ are both small, ν , α , π , μ , and τ all occupy a considerable space (the cross-bar of the last named letter extends further to the left than to the right). There were thirty-one lines to a column; the number of letters in a line varying from thirteen to twenty-one, with an average of about sixteen. In its present condition, at least, neither upper nor lower margin measures more than 2.3 cm. The space between the columns averages c. 1.8 cm.—in one place the last letter of one line (15) must have touched the first letter of another (32). The format is somewhat unusual for the period; as a rule the height of a roll in the third century B.C. was considerably less than 28 cm. (v. Schubart, *Das Buch*², p. 57), while such narrow columns of writing are also foreign to the period (*ibid.*, p. 63). There are no points, accents, or other signs; paragraphi occur under lines 53 and 60.

The early date of the papyrus adds considerably to its interest, since it is probably not much more than half a century later than the events it describes. The period covered in these two fragments is the years 340–337: the treatment is cursory to a degree and the style bald. It does not appear to be arranged on definitely annalistic principles, and on this, as on other grounds (e.g. the attention paid to the fortunes of Thebes and Persia), the suggestion that it was an *Ἀρχὴ* may be ruled out (see note to l. 8). Some of its omissions are so startling (e.g. while the defeat of Proxenus and Chares before Amphissa is recorded, no mention is made of the capture of Amphissa itself; the number and treatment of the Theban prisoners after Chaeronea is set down, but no account is given of the terms of peace imposed on Athens and Thebes) that, combined with the abrupt and bare narrative style, they suggest that the present text is no more than the epitome of some longer work. If so, it may well be an abridgement of a *Philippica* (see the list in Jacoby, *Fr. Gr. Hist.* ii, p. 4), a work describing the career and achievements of Philip of Macedon, such as we know both Theopompus and Anaximenes of Lampsacus wrote; in favour of the hypothesis it may be mentioned that a distinct bias in Philip's favour is traceable in the account of the treatment of the Theban prisoners (but see note to l. 53), such as might be expected in a work circulating in Ptolemaic Egypt among the second generation of Philip's veterans. A small fragment of an epitome of Theopompus on papyrus has been known for some time (P. Ryl. 19); while in favour of Anaximenes of Lampsacus, also author of a *Philippica*, it might be urged that part of his treatise of rhetoric has been found on a papyrus of the third century B.C. (P. Hib. 26). The events so briefly dealt with here were recounted by Theopompus in Books 47–57 of his *Philippica* and by Anaximenes in Book 8 of his work. The brevity of the present text does not allow us to suppose that it is part of the actual text either of Theopompus or of Anaximenes; indeed the presence of hiatus in our text is sufficient proof of this.

Prof. F. E. Adcock, to whom, with Mr. H. T. Wade Gery, I am much indebted for helpful suggestions in the interpretation and reconstruction of this text, points out that a comparison with the account of the years in Diodorus does not suggest that we have before us any source that he used.

Col. i.

[]ξας
[]θ[. .]του Φιλίπ
[που]κεντε [[. . .]]
[και μαχη]ς γενομένης
5 [ραδιως ε]νίκησεγ και
[τον βασι]λεα αυτων
[Ατεαν απε]κτεινεν
[]επι τουτου
[αρχοντος οι] Αθηναιοι
10 [πανδημ]ει εξηλθον
[εις Βοιωτι]αν κωλυ
[σουντες πα]ρελθειν
[Φιλίππον] εισω πυλων
[]αν δε και
15 [] . Φωκ[ιω]ν ηγειτο
[] . κοσιε[. . .]ας
[] . . . []
[]

Col. ii.

παρελ[θων ενίκησεν]
αυτο[υς κ]αι π[ολ]
20 λους μεν τω[ν στρα]
τιωτων απ[εκτειν]εν
πολλους δε ζ[ωντ]ας
ελαβεν ολιγ[οι δε τι]νες
μετα Χαρητ[ος του]
25 των Αθηνα[ιων στρ]α
[τη]γου εσωθη[σαν]
[σ]υγελεγησα[ν δε ουν ο]ι
Θηβαιοι κα[ι Αθηναιοι] και
οι τρυτω[ν συμμα]
30 χοι εις Χα[ιρωνειαν]
και μαχ[]
[α]υτο[]α
Μακεδ[]
του φ[]α
35 δους ρ[] .

[]ν
[]
[]
[] . s
40 []ν
[]γο
[]ρα
[]χος
[]ολβ[. .]σεας
45 [] Αθηναιων . τε
[]ενης εληφθη
[]ζωντες τ[.]
[]ι των Θη-

Col. iii.

βαιων πε[]ελα]
50 βε δε και τ[ων αλλων]
Θηβαιων [τους πλεισ]
τους αιχ[μαλωτους και]
χρηματ[α πραξων εδησε]
τους δ αλ[λους αφη]
55 κεν εφοδι[α διαδι]
δους εκασ[τω]
τελευτ[ων δε αυ] .
των . []
των Θ[ηβαιων απε]
60 στειλ[εν οι δε Αθηναιοι]
εποιησ[αντο φιλιαν και]
συμμ[αχίαν]
προς Φι[λίππον εποι]
ησαντ[ο δε οι Πελοπον]
65 νησιοι π[λην των]
Λακεδα[ιμονιων]
τωι κι . []
ας και ο[]
νησων []η]
70 γαγεν α[]
και Αρτο[ξερξην τον Περ]

[σώ]ν βασι[ιλεα ο υιος]	ξ[ε]ρξης []
[αυ]του Αρ[σης	δ[. .]ιδ[]
. [.] . εν[	β . οvs []
75 [.] . [.] τα [ο δε Αρτο]	[.] ον . []

ll. 4 sq. '... a battle took place in which Philip was easily victorious and slew their king Ateas. In the magistracy of ... the Athenians marched into Boeotia with their full forces to prevent Philip passing within the Gates. They also (sent an expedition) under the command of Phocion ...'

ll. 18 sq. '... Philip crossed the pass and defeated them. Many of the soldiers he slew and many he captured alive; some few escaped in safety with Chares, the Athenian general. The Athenians and the Thebans and their allies assembled their forces again at Chaeronea and fighting ...'

ll. 49 sq. '... Further he took most of the other Thebans prisoner and imprisoned them with the intention of exacting payment from them. But the rest he discharged, providing each man with journey-money ... Finally (? taking pity on them) he sent home (most) of the Thebans as well. After this, the Athenians made a treaty of friendship and alliance with Philip, as did the Peloponnesians, except for the Lacedaemonians who ...'

3. This line is badly rubbed, and there may be no correction at the end of it; but what looks like a long horizontal line can be seen, which it is difficult to associate with any letters.

4 sq. This brief passage clearly treats of Philip's victory over the Scythians in the winter of 340-339: for a discussion of the campaign cf. the article of A. Momigliano, *Dalla spedizione scitica di Filippo alla spedizione scitica di Dario*, in *Athenaeum* (N.S.) xi. 1933, pp. 336 sq. The fullest account is to be found in Justin, IX, i. 9-iii. 3; but the only authority for the death of Ateas, the Scythian king, is Lucian (*Macrob.* 10), whose statement is now confirmed by the papyrus.

8. Wade Gery suggests that we might read in this line [Λυσιμαχίδης' ἐπι τουτου κτλ., Lysimachides being the Athenian archon for 339-338. It would make a very long line, with twenty letters, and it is unlikely that it projected into the margin since the columns are very close together (there is scarcely the space of two letters between col. ii and col. iii at the bottom of the roll). However, the]π comes immediately above the θ of Αθηναῖοι in the following line, and, if the supplement in that line is correct, there might be room for Λυσιμαχίδης in l. 8. More serious objections are (a) that if the work is annalistic, arranged according to the years of the Athenian archons, the name of the archon for the next year, Chaerondas, should appear before the account of the battle of Chaeronea, i.e. before l. 27, whereas there is no such entry; (b) the work does not appear to be an Ἀτθίς devoted simply to Athenian annals; the bias, if any, is in favour of Philip, and in col. iii the writer goes on to describe events in Persia; (c) if the work is an Ἀτθίς, the formula introducing the year's events is unusual; we should either expect the deme name to be given also, i.e. Λυσιμαχίδης Ἀχαρνεύς ἐπὶ τούτου (as in Philochorus, Muller, *Frag. Graec. Hist.* i, p. 406) or else ἐπὶ Λυσιμαχίδου ἄρχοντος.

On the whole this suggestion seems to me to be unlikely: but ἐπὶ τουτου remains and can hardly refer to anything except to the period of office of some magistrate or to the reign of some monarch. But if we read presuming that Lysimachides' name has already been mentioned, [ωσαντως ἐπὶ τουτου | [ἀρχοντος] we are faced with the difficulty that τούτου must refer to the archon of the previous year, Theophrastus, and no such military movements as those attributed to the Athenians in the following lines are known to have been made in this year; indeed, if Philip was engaged with the Scythians and the Triballi, it would hardly have been necessary to send a force to Thermopylae. (But the passage has other difficulties of its own: v. note to l. 13.) ἐπὶ τουτου | [του πολέμου] even if the expression is legitimate and if there is room for the letters, is open to much the same objections. Wade Gery's suggestion does escape this historical dilemma; but in view of the objections to which it is open, I find it hard to accept it and prefer to leave the question undecided.

10. πανδημει may be regarded as suspect, (a) because an expedition on this scale is unlikely, (b) because the letters might be thought insufficient to fill the space; but it should be noted that they are all letters which occupy a considerable space.

11. I have filled up this line on the assumption that it and the following lines refer to the winter of 339-338, when Philip, invited to lead the Sacred War against Amphissa, first occupied Cytinium and then seized Elatea, with the result that the Athenians advanced to Eleusis, and later, in alliance with the Thebans, occupied the passes from Phocis to Boeotia and sent a force to protect Amphissa. This would bring the papyrus into accord with what we already know of the history of the war, and in particular would agree well with the mention

of Phocion in l. 15 who in this year (v. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, s.v.) was sent with a fleet to secure the loyalty of the islands (cf. Dem. *de. Cor.* 234). The only difficulty in this view lies in the word *πυλων* in l. 13. It is very hard to believe that *πυλαι* can refer to any other place except Thermopylae: *πύλαι* could, of course, be used of other passes (the pass to which we expect it to refer here is that of Parapotamii), but hardly without a qualifying adjective. If *πυλαι* does = Thermopylae, then the reference is to a campaign of 340–399 of which we have no other mention; and Phocion's expedition would be the one undertaken for the relief of Byzantium (but mentioned out of place, after the Scythian war). This seems so improbable that I would prefer to regard *πυλαι* as denoting the passes from Phocis to Boeotia which, as we know, were held by Athenian and Theban troops.

14–15. [*εις Αμφισσ*]*αν* would be an attractive supplement were it not that Phocion's name is not connected with any land operations this year. [*απεστειλ*]*αν* is perhaps the most likely supplement: [*εις Ευβοι*]*αν* is also possible, though the word order would be rather clumsy. A *ν* before *Φωκιων* (e.g. [*ναυς ω*]*ν*) is not very likely as traces of ink can be seen level with the bottom of the *φ*. *Φωκ[εω]**ν* might be supplied, but is improbable in the context.

16.] . *κοσιθ* is a possible, though less likely, reading. In the remaining twelve or thirteen lines of this column the writer probably dealt with the Athenian alliance with Thebes and the sending of the joint expedition under Proxenus and Chares, with ten thousand mercenaries, to defend Amphissa—perhaps, too, with the 'battle on the river' and the 'winter battle' claimed by Demosthenes as Athenian victories (*De Cor.* 216).

18 sq. It is remarkable that, while describing the defeat of Chares and Proxenus in the spring of 338 (for the ruse by which Philip defeated them see Polyaeus, iv. 2. 8), the writer does not mention the result of the victory and the object of the campaign, the capture and destruction of Amphissa; instead (l. 27) he goes on to describe the preliminaries of Chaeronea, without even indicating the effect that the capture of Amphissa had on the allies' position at Elatea.

παρελθων: i.e. the pass between Cytinium and Amphissa.

27. There was presumably a paragraphus mark below this line; nothing can be seen owing to a gap in the papyrus.

28. This makes a very long line (twenty-one letters): but there is just room for *Αθηναιοι* (to judge from the space necessary for *απ[εκτειν]εν* in l. 21), and the *και* projects into the margin.

45–9. A satisfactory reconstruction of these lines is difficult. The main difficulty is that in ll. 48–9 there appears to be a statement about the number of Thebans captured; while ll. 49–52 also refer to the number of Thebans captured. It might be thought that the first statement referred to the Sacred Band, and we might then read *πε[ντε]* in l. 49, which would be an intelligible variation on the usual account according to which all the members of the Sacred Band fell on the field of battle; but it does not seem possible to fit the words in, as, whatever the letter is before *των* in l. 48, it cannot be *ν*. Again, the word or words between *Αθηναιων* in l. 45 and *εληφθη* in l. 46 are puzzling: it is rather long for a proper name (Demosthenes is in any case too short) and we should not expect details about individuals in this text. *εληφθη[σαν μεν] ζωντες τε[σσορακοσιοι] των Θη[βαιων] πε[ντακοσιοι] ελα[βε] κτλ.* would be an easy enough restoration could it be made to fit with what follows.

49 sq. There seems to be no authoritative statement as to the number of Thebans captured at Chaeronea. Diodorus (xvi. 86. 6) merely says *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν Βοιωτῶν πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνιρέθησαν, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐξωγρήθησαν*. Nor is the apparently generous treatment of the Thebans implied in ll. 57–60 consonant either with the statement in Justin (ix. 4) that the Theban prisoners were sold as slaves nor with Philip's treatment of Thebes after the battle. Diodorus (xvi. 87. 3) relates that the Athenian prisoners were discharged *ἄνευ λύτρων*, but says nothing of the treatment of the Thebans.

53. Supplied, *sensus gratia*, by Adcock. Alternatively he suggests that *χρηματιουμενος* might be preferred, as *πραξομενος* would strictly be more correct than *πραξων*, and points out that, if so, it is even less pro-Philip in tone than *χρηματα πραξων*.

55. *διδους* alone is insufficient to fill the space.

διαδιδους (Adcock) is preferable to *προσδιδους*.

56. Possibly *δραχμας* followed by a numeral (not written in full) stood here.

58. The letter after *των* is not *τ*, so e.g. *το πληθος* or *τους πλειστους* cannot be read.

63. Cf. Diod. xvi. 87. 3 *συνθέσθαι* (sc. Philip) *πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν*.

65. For the conduct of the Spartans on this occasion cf. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge in *Cambridge Ancient History*, VI, ix, p. 266.

67. The letter after κ resembles most a ϕ or a δ , but a σ is possible.

71 sq. For Persian affairs at this time cf. Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 14. 2, Diod. xvii. 5. 3, Aelian *V.H.*, vi. 8. Artaxerxes Ochus was poisoned by the eunuch Bagoas in 337, who placed Arses, the murdered man's son, on the throne; Arses himself was murdered by Bagoas in the following year. (For the chronology of this period in Persian history see also P. Oxy. 12, esp. ii. 11 note: the papyrus places the accession of Darius, Arses' successor, in the same year as Chaeronea.)

$\delta\iota\epsilon\delta\epsilon\chi\alpha\tau\omicron$ may have stood at the end of l. 71.

76. Here we might expect a statement as to the length of Artaxerxes' reign, e.g. $\eta\rho\acute{\xi}\epsilon\nu$ ($\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\nu\sigma\epsilon\nu$) $\epsilon\tau\eta$. . ., but it is not possible to fit $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota$ $\delta\nu\omicron$ (the number of years usually assigned to Artaxerxes' reign) into the papyrus.

491. FRAGMENT ON THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

Acquired in 1920.

17 × 27 cm.

Second century B.C.
PLATE 5.

The date, the authorship, and the contents of this fragment all present considerable difficulties. It consists of part of three columns (of the first only] . $\eta\varsigma$ opposite l. 17,] $\alpha\rho\alpha$ opposite l. 18, and] $\delta\omicron$ opposite l. 24 survive) written along the fibres in a large, clear, but not calligraphic hand of the type commonly attributed (the good documentary hands of the period are not very different) to the second half of the second century B.C.; it may be compared with BKT. III, no. 9765, p. 30. The verso of the papyrus further supports the attribution of the text on the recto to the second century B.C. On it is written, in the reverse direction to the text on the recto, and in a hand of a type certainly common in the later second century (cf. e.g. P. Teb. 10, dated in 119 B.C.), a list of cleruchic holdings. The name of the cleruch and his father's name, sometimes followed by his age and $\text{\AA}\rho\sigma\iota\nu\omicron(\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma)$ (possibly these were added in each case; the column is incomplete), is first given; in each case this is followed by a second line, considerably inset, with δ $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ and another word (perhaps $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota$; it can hardly be a proper name, as the initial letter is in each case π and in two $\pi\epsilon\rho$ is clear). The papyrus was one of a group, which included 457, marked as coming 'from the Fayûm or Oxyrhynchus'; in this case $\text{\AA}\rho\sigma\iota\nu\omicron(\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma)$ together with the name $\Sigma\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$, which is almost confined to the Fayûm, is sufficient evidence of its provenance. We know from the Tebtunis papyri (see Vol. I, pp. 553 sq.) that large numbers of native cleruchs were settled in the Fayûm by Euergetes II in the latter part of his reign after the end of the civil war. Among the names on the verso of 491 there is not one Greek one; this, taken with the palaeographical evidence, suggests that this list may relate to the settlement of Euergetes II. In that case the text on the recto is not likely to have been written later than 130 B.C.

The subject of columns ii and iii of the papyrus is negotiations between Rome and Carthage, carried on during time of war. The mention of Scipio in l. 20 excludes the first Punic War, and it is clear from ll. 18 sq. that the Roman army was not in Italy; indeed, it is almost a necessary inference from these lines that it was in Africa. The situation appears to be that an embassy has been sent from Carthage to Rome and that, as a result of this,

some prisoners or hostages are released (?), definite proposals for a treaty are made, and the Carthaginian embassy returns together with a Roman delegation in order that the necessary assurances may be given by both sides. The negotiations appear to have been on the point of being successful, when the bad reception of the terms at Carthage—the text at this point, ll. 22 sq., is very uncertain, but it is improbable that the subject of ἀπεστέιλαν in l. 39 was any one but the Carthaginians—put an end to them. The inference from the final lines of the papyrus is that this led to a renewal of hostilities. The only place-name that appears in the fragment is of no assistance; for Σκιπιωνος πολις (l. 20), unless πόλις be equated with παρεμβολή for which I can find no warrant, seems to be quite unknown to both Greek and Latin writers.

In the Second Punic War there are only two occasions to which the events described in this papyrus might be attributed; the negotiations carried on through Syphax in the winter of 204/3 do not come into consideration since Rome was not consulted. The first of these occasions was in the autumn of 203. Scipio had complied with the Carthaginian request for an armistice as a prelude to peace negotiations, and a Carthaginian embassy had gone to Rome; but on the arrival of Hannibal and Mago the Carthaginians broke the armistice by attacking and seizing a Roman convoy. Polybius' account of these negotiations is only preserved in part; there is a gap between his account of Scipio's capture of Tunis in xiv. 10 and his description of the attack on the Roman convoy in xv. 1. From here on the account in Polybius is fairly explicit. The Roman Senate had given its approval to the peace terms and Scipio was informed of their decision¹; then followed the Carthaginian attack on the convoy, a protest from Scipio to Carthage and a treacherous attack on Scipio's delegation, dismissed without an answer by the Carthaginian assembly, as they were returning from Carthage. Meanwhile (xv. 4) the Roman and Carthaginian delegations at Rome were returning together and had reached Africa, when Baebius, since the armistice had been broken in the interval by the Carthaginians, imprisoned the Carthaginian ambassadors; they were later released and returned to Carthage by Scipio. In two respects this account differs from the story of the papyrus. In the first place, it is clear from Polybius that the Carthaginian ambassadors did not return independently, whereas in l. 22 it is said that they went straight to Carthage. More important, it seems to be a reasonable inference from the latter part of the papyrus that it was the reception of the terms in Carthage after the return of the ambassadors that led to the renewal of hostilities, not any incident during their absence, whereas, according to Polybius, there was no formal conclusion to the armistice such as the papyrus describes.

The other occasion to which these events might be referred is the despatch of Carthaginian plenipotentiaries to Rome after the defeat at Zama in 202, described in Livy, xxx. 38; Polybius' account of the peace settlement is not extant. The arrival of the Carthaginian plenipotentiaries and the Roman delegation is described in xxx. 40; by a decree of the senate two hundred Carthaginian prisoners were released and Roman *legati* to act with Scipio were sent from Rome (id. 43). So far this suits the text of the papyrus admirably; in particular it may be noted that [αἰχμα]λωσιαν in l. 6 is almost certain. But neither Livy nor, it seems, any other authority, records that the return of the plenipotentiaries to

¹ Livy's version of these negotiations is different; but there seems to be little doubt that Polybius' account is to be preferred.

Carthage resulted in the renewal of hostilities, though there was certainly discontent (cf. Appian, viii. 55). That the text relates to the Third Punic War is made very unlikely both by the tone of the passage, which implies that the Senate at Rome was willing to grant a treaty to Carthage and that the terms had been discussed, and by the date of the papyrus.

Nor is it any easier to be certain about the authorship of the papyrus. On stylistic grounds alone a case might be made out for Polybius. For example, ἐξαποστέλλειν (l. 12) is a word, not common in other Hellenistic writers, of which Polybius is very fond; in Book III alone it occurs thirty times, whereas ἀποστέλλειν is found only four times and the simple verb never.¹ Other words and phrases which occur in this papyrus and which are characteristic of Polybius' style, are: οἱ ἀπὸ 'Ρώμης = οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι (l. 18), καθήραν εἰς (l. 19) (for these two instances, see F. Krebs, *Die Präpositionen bei Polybius*, pp. 46 and 106-7), ὄρκια = *foedus* (l. 16). On the other hand, αἰχμαλωσία (l. 6), if correct, is not quoted from Polybius, and σύν (l. 13), though found, is rare.² A fragment of the *Tà perì 'Anníban* of Sosylus, who was the teacher and companion of Hannibal, has already been found on a Ptolemaic papyrus (U. Wilcken, *Hermes*, 41 (1906), pp. 103 sq.), describing a naval battle between the Carthaginians and the Romans and Massiliots in 217 B.C.; but there are no particular reasons for connecting his name with this papyrus, although that may be due to our almost total ignorance of his work. Supposing that 491 is a fragment from the lost part of Polybius' history, we should have to conclude that it dealt with the events after Zama, and that the rejection of the peace terms described in col. iii was a mere incident, immediately followed by a reversal of this decision, perhaps on the advice of Hannibal. Another interesting conclusion would follow, for, since Polybius is said to have lived into the eighth decade of the second century, 491 would, in all probability, be a contemporary manuscript—the first of any author of importance that has yet been found. In any case, the mere existence of a papyrus on this subject is (cf. also 501) significant of the interest felt by educated Graeco-Egyptians in the already dominant power of Rome. It is, perhaps, worth recalling that it was in the reign of Euergetes II that Scipio Aemilianus, accompanied by Panaetius, visited Egypt and went up the Nile as far as Memphis.

There is no punctuation in the papyrus, but the end of sections is marked by a paragraphus below the line and a space at the end of the sentence. Line 31 is in all probability the last line of the column; at the top the surface of the papyrus has been completely abraded, so that the number of lines missing cannot be calculated.

Col. ii.	[καν το]υς ορκους και
.	5 [ελυσ]αν ηδη την
]δεναι[. .]ταδ[.]	[αιχμα]λωσιαν των
[. . . πε]μψαμενοι τοις	[.]ακηκοοτες
[πρεσβ]ευταις εδω	[.]ν[.]

¹ See O. Glaser, *De ratione quae intercedit inter sermonem Polybii et eum qui in titulis saeculi III, II, I apparet* (Giessen, 1894), pp. 33-4.

² Further, Mr. R. L. Beaumont has pointed out to me that Φοίνικες (l. 21) is not common in Polybius and is used only once (xiv. 1. 4) of the Carthaginians, as distinct from other Semites, and that Scipio Africanus is normally referred to as Πόπλιος, though Σκιπίων is found e. g. in xiv. 5. 3. Both exceptions occur in the book dealing with the close of the Second Punic War.

	[. . . . ευ]πειθεστέ	Col. iii.
10	[ρ] τ[ο]υς παροχέ	. . . . .
	[.]τας περι των	θ[
	[ορκιων] εξαπεσται	[
	[λαν σ]υν τοις απο	βε[
	[της Καρ]χηδονος και	35 των [
15	[πα]ρ αυτων τους αποι	εξ[
	σοντας τα ορκια και	προς αυτο[υς απαι]
	ληψομενους παρ αυ	τουντε[ς τους ορ]
	των οι μεν ουν απο	κους απεστειλαν
	Ρωμης κατηραν εις	40 φεροντας αντ[ι της]
20	την του Σκιπ[ι]ωνος	ειρηνης του πο[λε]
	πολιν [οι] δε Φοινι	μον τουτο[υ μεν ου]
	κες ως ηκον εις την	ν αγγελθεντ[ος]
	Καρχηδονα και τα	αμφοτεροις [τοις]
	διωικημενα [π]ερι	45 στρα[τοπεδοις . . .]
25	της ειρηνης [. . . .]	μεν[
	(5 lines lost)	δυ[
	[. .]ν[. . . .] . ωτακ . [. .]	χι[
	

11. 2-6: ' . . . they administered the oaths to the ambassadors and released the prisoners forthwith . . . '

11. 12-25: ' . . . together with the Carthaginians they dispatched on their side men who were to swear to the treaty and receive the oaths of the Carthaginians. Now the Romans put in at Scipio's city. But when the Phoenicians reached Carthage and related what had been arranged about the peace . . . '

11. 37-45: ' . . . when the Romans came to them demanding the oaths, they sent them back bringing peace instead of war. When this news reached both the camps . . . '

2. με]μψαμενοι is possible, but less likely.

5. Alternatively, αφηκαν might be supplied, or possibly (see next note) επανσαν.

6. There appears to be no other possible supplement here; the word is found in Diodorus Siculus and frequently in the Septuagint, meaning either *captivity* or *body of captives*. In the former case επανσαν might be supplied and the subsequent genitive (e.g. των ομηρων) might be taken in connexion with it; but the latter meaning is certainly the more natural in this context. But if the sentence ends with αιχμα]λωσιαν it becomes difficult to fill the gap at the beginning of l. 7.

10. παρολε or even παροδε might be read, but is hardly more helpful; what is required is a participle in the sense of *negotiating*.

13. The supplement in this line is shorter by two letters than would be expected: cf. l. 43.

15. αποφερειν τα ορκια must mean *to deliver, render*, in contrast with the ληψομενους of the next line; I have found no example of this usage with ορκια.

20. No city of this name is known from Greek or Latin sources. It is easy to identify it with the *Castra Cornelia*, Scipio's camp between Carthage and the mouth of the Bagradas during the winter of 204/3, which became a permanent settlement and is referred to by Ptolemy (iv. 3, 2) and other later writers. But it is difficult to see why Σκιπιωνος πολις should have been substituted for Κορνηλιου παρεμβολη, by which the camp is known to Greek writers. To translate 'the city of Scipio', i.e. the city where Scipio was (in 203 he had moved his headquarters to Tunis), is grammatically impossible.

40. φεροντας here must refer to the Roman plenipotentiaries, who had first been to the Roman headquarters and then went on to Carthage.

492. HISTORICAL FRAGMENT.

Acquired in 1920.

13 × 30.5 cm.

Fifth century.

In spite of considerable dimensions but little text has survived on this leaf from a papyrus codex; to the inner margin (*c.* 3 cm.) of the leaf itself, the inner margin of its companion leaf is still attached, but no traces of the text of the second leaf remain. The lower margin measures as much as 6.5 cm. in height, so that the height of the complete page must have been over 32 cm.; it is not possible to calculate how long the lines, and consequently how broad the pages, were. In format then, the book has some pretensions to sumptuousness; nor does the script belie this appearance. The letters, of the square, concise type, are closely packed, stiff and unornamental with drop strokes on the *ν* and the *τ*; they become considerably smaller at the ends of lines; the deep *μ* (of the capital type), the *κ* formed in two separate strokes, and the *φ* with a long exaggerated centre stroke deserve notice. It resembles the first hand of the Ascension of Isaiah (P. Amh. 1) and is of the same general type as the Codex Alexandrinus; it may, I think, be assigned to the fifth century. The ink is deep brown; there are no signs except the trema over upsilon. Punctuation may have been indicated by a short space (*cf.* l. 51).

It is a matter for regret that so little of the text remains, as it seems to have been a historical work dealing with the Persian Wars; on the recto there appears to have been an account of Marathon, on the verso the preliminaries to the campaign of 480-479. I have been unable to associate it with the work of any known author.

Recto.		
	βατ[	ρ . [
	πε[[
	θ . [	δια[
	μα [	πρε[
5	φρο[	25 δελ . [.]ωπ[
	μ[	γελ[.]αιτ[
	π[. . .]ν μ . [	τ[. . .]σ . [. . .]ιλη[
	μετα των [	κ . [. .]μαιον ουδ α[
	σκει τοι κατ[	γη[μ]αντο των . [
10	λεως ουδ ωσ[	30 ουδ απεβλεψαν [
	βελεσιν ουτε[	βαρβαρου δωρα[εν Μα]
	των ποτον [	ραθωνι τροπαι[
	ψαι τοις επαγο[	νου πα[.] . τον υ[
	μεν πολεμιω[
15	εκατερωσε νε[	Verso.
	τη[.] . ρωντες ε[	35] . .
	χων δε πολλη ε[	]ινα
	κτ[.] . εμπο . μ[	]υ
	φειν[. . .]τεα δ[	]με
20	ταδ[	]τι
		]αι

40	]τροπο . . ω			] . ο
	]ασταση τη	55		]νε
	] θαλαττη			]ων
	]ετο μεν τον			]σα
	]λιθε τον Αθω			]ατ[.]ν το(ν)
45	]ντον νηι τη(ν)			]αιθα[.]πει
	]λι[[ι]]'όν υπερ του	60		]κω[.]ρω(ν)
	π]εζην εκομισε			]ιανδ[.] . κατ[ασ]κευ
	] πανταχοθεν ε(ν)			]λημψομε[.] . .] ομου
	παρ]ασκευη την Ελ			]και κηρυκας ε
50 [λαδα	]ζομενος ετερα			γ]ης και υδατος ες ο
	]οι χολ . . [. . .]ν	65		]μακονος εγνωσαν
	]μενο[. . .] μου			] . τελουντι ως φι
	]ο[.] . [. . .] . ησιw	[	γης κ]αι υδατος μεταλαμ	

33. ü P.
and in 67.

45. νηϊ P.

η⁻ P: so in 48, 58, and 60.

46. üπερ P.

64. üδατος P,

28. ε[ρ]μαιον would be a possible reading.

29. The writer may have been describing here how the Athenians refused to have any intercourse with some Greeks (? the Parians) who had helped the Persians in the campaign of Marathon.

32. For the trophy at Marathon cf. Pausanias, I. 32, 5 πεποιήται δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον λίθου λεύκου: for its symbolic importance at Athens cf. Arist. *Equit.* 1334, *Vesp.* 711 (with Rogers' note *ad loc.*). It might be referred to as τὸ Μαραθῶνι, τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι or τὸ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι τρόπαιον.

44.]λιθε: the scribe certainly wrote θ originally, but what looks like a stroke across the top may indicate that he crossed it out—perhaps intending to write]λιπε.

Αθω: the later form of the earlier Ἀθων.

62 sqq. For the sending of the heralds to Greece by Xerxes when the army was at Sardes see Hdt. vii. 32: for their return, *ibid.* 131-2.

493. AESOP (?), FABLES.

Acquired in 1917.

Frag. (a). 23.5 cm. × 13 cm.

First century A.D.
PLATE 7.

Although numerous fragments of the romantic *Vita Aesopi* have been recovered from Egypt, up till now, with the single exception of a school exercise (P. Grenf. II. 84: identified by W. A. Oldfather in *Aegyptus*, 10 (1929), p. 255), the Fables themselves have been unrepresented among the papyri.¹ As the transmission of the fables, as regards both form and substance, is a matter of much uncertainty, the evidence offered by this papyrus is welcome.² The gap between Demetrius of Phalerum, who, according to Diog. Laert. v. 80,

¹ Excluding the fragment of the Graeco-Latin *Hermeneumata Pseudo-Dositheana*, P.S.I. 848. Babrius, on the other hand, is represented by three papyri, P. Amh. 26, P. Oxy. 1249, and P. Stud. Pal. VI. 160: cf. also P. Oxy. 1404.

² See Schmidt-Stählin, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, i, p. 676 sq., and for the MSS., p. 683, Hausrath in *RE*. VI, art. Fabel, and W. Port in Bursian, 1933, p. 72 sq. The most recent study is that by B. E. Perry, *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop* (Haverford, Penn., 1936), which I was unable to see until after this introduction was written.

made a λόγων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγή, and our MSS. tradition is considerable; our earliest MS. is of the late tenth century, and, though the question is debated, it seems likely that the collection of fables ascribed to 'Aesop' in our MSS. is substantially the result of a Byzantine recension. Chambry (*Ésope, Fables*, Paris, 1927, p. xliv), on the contrary, is of the opinion that our collection is on the whole older than the collections made by rhetoricians and may be in substance the collection of Demetrius of Phalerum; for the substantial objections to this view see the review of Chambry's work by Hausrath, *Philologische Wochenschrift*, 47 (1927), 1537-46, 1569-75. In connexion with this papyrus it may be pointed out that the fable of the Owl and the Birds, partly preserved in the papyrus (ll. 103-31), is otherwise known to us only from the works of Dio Chrysostom (nos. 105, 106 in Halm's Teubner text of Aesop) and is consequently omitted by Chambry, who prints only the fables preserved in the codices of Aesop; we may suppose that the form in which the story appears in the papyrus is older than that given by Dio Chrysostom, and also that, if the edition of Demetrius of Phalerum was the standard edition it is sometimes thought to have been, it would probably have included this fable which in the papyrus appears together with fables found in our MSS. of Aesop. This, together with the fact that the version of the fables in the papyrus, which can with certainty be placed in the early imperial age, is completely different from that preserved in the codices of Aesop, makes Chambry's theory still less tenable.

Such is the difference between the version of the fables given in the papyrus and that of the MSS. recensions (different MSS. often preserve slightly varying forms of the same fable, but all probably derive from a common and not too remote source) that it is hard to posit any direct connexion between them, and for this reason this papyrus has been classed among the new classical texts. Those fables in the papyrus of which enough survives for the story to be identified, are all to be found—as far as the core of the story is concerned—in Halm's collection; a possible exception is that in ll. 133-52 (see note to l. 133), but the text is too fragmentary for us to arrive at a decision. This degree of similarity granted, the following differences between the papyrus text and that of the MSS. may be noted:

(a) The order in which the fables are written is different. The order given in the MSS. has long been suspect, based as it is on an alphabetical arrangement of the titles; unfortunately, not enough of the papyrus remains to enable us to determine the principle on which they were arranged here. Similarly, in the MSS. the fables of Babrius are arranged alphabetically, whereas in the second-century papyrus, P. Oxy. 1249, there is no trace of such an arrangement.

(b) The form of the fables is different. Instead of the title (e.g. ποιμὴν καὶ πρόβατα, Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Πλοῦτος) with which they are introduced in the MSS., in the papyrus each fable starts, as in Babrius, with a προμύθιον, a short sentence stating the moral, e.g. (ll. 75-76) πρὸς τὸν πλουσίον ἴσα καὶ πονη[ρον] ὁδε λόγος ἐφαρμοζει. The last three words of this formula are invariably used; but once (l. 35) the moral is introduced with κατά, instead of with πρὸς. It may be noticed that the initial letter of the προμύθιον always projects into the margin. This in part takes the place of the ἐπιμύθιον which commonly appears at the conclusion of each fable in the MSS., and is often introduced by ὁ μῦθος (or λόγος) δηλοῖ or some similar phrase. The

ἐπιμύθιον, however, is also represented by a feature peculiar to the papyrus version. In the two conclusions that survive (ll. 72 sq., 129 sq.), one of the parties in the fable points the moral and in each case the phrase used suggests that it was a conventional formula: *την γνωμην φαινεται ειρηκεναι λεγων ουτως* (slightly varied in l. 129: cf. also ll. 55-6); then follows the general application of the story.

(c) The vocabulary of the fables is different; e.g. an unusual word like *ραβδιζω* (l. 38) in the story of the Shepherd and the Sheep, is not found in any of the MSS. versions of the story. Other examples are pointed out in the notes.

(d) The whole form and syntax of the fables is different. In one case at least, it seems likely that a different twist was given to the end of the fable. How widely the versions vary may be seen from comparing the story of Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Πλοῦτος in the papyrus with the version of the MSS. (quoted from Halm and given in the note to l. 75).

That the papyrus version can in any way be regarded as the source of the existing MSS. is highly improbable, nor, if we assumed with Chambry that the text of the latter was substantially of late Hellenistic date, could we assume that the papyrus text derived from that; both are probably parallel developments from a common source; for it is clear on linguistic and other grounds that the papyrus does not give us the text of the old *Volksbuch* which, no doubt in several forms, was probably in general circulation before Demetrius of Phalerum made his recension. The papyrus version might be regarded as that of Demetrius of Phalerum, a distinction to which it has more claim than the MSS. version; but there is nothing to prove it. The *προμύθια* and the concluding moral placed in the mouth of one of the characters may suggest that this recension was made for the use of rhetoricians.¹

There are three fragments, of which (a) and (b) each contain part of three columns, (c) part of two columns; I have been unable to establish any connexion between the three. Altogether fourteen fables are represented, most of them very scantily. The papyrus is in a very fragile condition, badly frayed at the edges and with the fibres disordered. The text is written in a handsome hand, upright and angular; it bears a general resemblance to the Berlin *Ninus Romance* (Schubart, *Pap. Graec. Berol.* 18), though less rounded and elegant. Some of its features recall those of documents of the Augustan period (cf. e.g., Schubart, *op. cit.* 14), and it may be assigned to the first half of the first century A.D. The column consisted of 29 lines (see note to l. 103); the lower margin is 4.5 cm. in depth. Each fable begins on a new line and the initial line projects into the margin. There is only one instance of punctuation (l. 134); corrections and additions have been made by the first hand. Nothing suggests that the text was used in school. The verso is blank.

For collation the texts of Halm (Teubner) and Chambry (*Aesopi Fabulae*, recensuit A. Chambry, Paris, 1925) have been used.

Fragment (a).

Col. i.

.
[c. 21] νω[.]
[c. 19] . [.] . κω

¹ But see Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 172, note 58

[c. 17]ας αυ γγο
 [c. 12]κ[.] . [. . . .]
 5 [c. 10 π]ονηρο[.]σασι[.] . . [.]
 [c. 12]ε[.]δομεν [. . . .]σ
 [c. 10 οδε λ]ογος εφαρμοζε[ι]
 [c. 15]ενος [.]
 [c. 16]θε[.]
 10 [c. 24]
 [c. 22] : σ
 [c. 16]ουκ αυ εφη
 [c. 15]την[.]οθεσ
 [c. 16]ων . [.]ο
 15 [c. 16]π . [.]

Col. ii.

.
 φερ[. . .] . . [c. 17]
 πολεμωι . . [c. 15]
 νευσετε [c. 17]
 προς το[ν] ισχυ[ρον] τον και [α]λλους
 20 . . κα . τα[.]χ[.]εθητα [. . .] . λε .
 νον οδε λογος εφ[α]ρμοζει [ι]ππος
 και υς λειμωνος εκοινων[ο]υν
 ο δε υς ελυμαινε[τ]ο τ[. . . .]ας και
 τα ποη του ιππο[υ] . [. . .] . ησεν
 25 [. . .]ρ[.]γγων κ[c. 13]ω
 πολλακισ δε του [ι]ππο[υ]
 ν . . [. .]τ[c. 16]εθ
 δ[. . .]ετο[c. 16]
 [. . .]ππ[. c. 17]

Col. iii.

.
 30 [c. 15]χα[.]
 [.]ος ν[.]ητου [.]
 [.]λογος [. . . .]ν . λου[.]
 [.]μιας επι τουτο [ο]υδετεροις του
 . . ροησε . [.] . [. .]
 35 [κ]α[τα] των [τους με]ν α[λ]λους ευ ποι
 ουντων τους δε φιλους κακως
 οδε λογος εφαρμοζει ποιμην θεις

το ιματιον αναβας επι δρυ'ν' ερα
 βδιζεν των βαλανων τοις προ
 40 βατοις τ[α] δε προβατα των τε βα
 λανων και το ιματιον αυτου εμα
 χησαντο και διεφθειραν κατα
 βασ δε και ιδων το συμβεβηκος
 [ειπεν] ω κακ[ιστα] πρ[ο]β[α]τ[α] [. . .] .
 45 [α]λλοις τα ερι[α . . .] . [. . .]δ[ι]]
 [.]ετ[ι] c. 15]

Fragment (b).

Col. iv.

.
 [c. 16]α πλησ[ιο]ν
 [c. 10 με]γαλοις ουδεις
 [c. 13]ο μετρον αταρ
 50 [c. 23]τ
 [c. 23]σ
 [c. 21] . το
 [c. 16]ικετο του
 [c. 15]ωι παραπλη
 55 [σι την γνωμην] φαινεται
 [c. 9 ειρηκε]να[ι] λεγων
 [c. 16]ρεσης γε
 [c. 20]τ[ι] . υν
 []
 60 [c. 18 π]ραξεις
 [c. 20]σε .
 [c. 21]εα
 [c. 19]ν παρα
 [c. 22]ε
 65 [c. 21] . ν
 [c. 20] . δ[ι] .]να
 [c. 16]ασο[ι] [. . .]α
 [c. 14]τιας . [. . .]πισ
 [c. 22]σ .

Col. v.

.
 70 φεσσ[ι]]π[ι] . [c. 12]
 νυν των σ[ι] .]ι[ι] .]ν[ι] . [c. 10]

- την γνώμην φαίνεται εἰ . [. . .]
 ειρηκεναι λεγων ουτως [αμαρ]
 τανων εκασ[τ]ος αιτιατα[ι θεους]
 75 προς τον πλουσιον ισα και πονη[ρον]
 οδε λογος εφαρμοζει ο Ζευς τ[ον]
 Ηρακλη [ω]ς εις θεους α . εδ[. . .]
 τια και τ[ου]ς αλλους θεους εκαλε
 σεν επ[ι] το δειπνον επιομ[τα δε]
 80 εκαστον των θεων υ[π]ερβολ[η]
 ησπαζετο ο Ηρα[κλ]ης τ[ου] [δε Πλου]
 του εσχατου προσ[ιοντ]ος [αφνω κυ]
 ψας κατωι ο Ηρακλης ου πρ[οση]
 γορευσεν αυτον του Διος θαυμα
 85 σαντος και ερωτησαντος του
 Ηρακλη δια τι του[το ε]ποιησεν α
 πεκρεινατο <ο>τι ω πατερ εγωγε
 τουτον επισταμαι αι μετα των
 πονηροτατων ανθρωπων δ[ι]
 90 ατρειβοντα και μετα τουτω[ν συ]ν
 βουλομενον αταρ ο Π[λουτος ειπε]
 ανθρωπε πονη[ροτατε]
 αν ο Πλουτος παρα[. .] . ν[.]
 νυν τωι λογωι πα . [. . .]η[.]
 95 τ[.]ν π . [. . . .]φ . μετα[.]
 [c. 13]λογ[.]

Col. vi.

-
 δ[c. 23]
 [c. 24]
 [c. 24]
 100 [c. 24]
 γενο[c. 20]
 ασπιδ[c. 19]

Fragment (c).

Col. vii.

- [c. 22]λ .
 [c. 9]ψε[c. 11]ελ
 105 [c. 8]ρει[c. 12] .
 [. . . .]εσει γ[.]λη[c. 9]α ιξο

- [. δ]ρυν αναφ[υ]ησ
 [. τοι]ς ορνέοις ε . . . [. . . .]ιλυ
 [.] αναφνείσαν μεν εσεσ
 110 [θαι κακ]ον τωι γενει των ορν[ε]ων
 [την βουλη]ν δ αυτων ολιγ . [. . . .]η
 [η δρυς] ηυξηθη λαβων δ[ε τι]ς αν
 [ηρ] . απο της δρυος τογ ιξον
 [εθηρασ]εν τα δε ορνεα ορωντα
 115 [μετενοουν] και εφησα[ν] δεινην
 [ειναι την] γλαυκα το μελλον προ
 [μαντε]ν[ε]σ[θαι] και νυν οταν ιδω
 [σι την γ]λαυκα περιπετον ηι και α
 [πο των αλλ]ων απεχει συμ[βουλ]ευ
 120 [ειν λισ]σ[ονται] η δε λεγει [[π]]ω πονη
 [ρα . αισχ]ν[ν]εσθε νυν και μιμνη
 [σκεσθ]ε οτ[ι] ουδε λι . [. .]η ετι πλει
 [.]ην οτε δ ην [.]οθλ[.] . α[.]
 [. ωραν ου]κ εσχετε της ε[μης] συμ[μ]
 125 [βουλης] αταρ ουν και υπ[.]
 [.] . εντες εμου νυν [. . . .]κ
 [.]οτε ουδε . [.]
 [.] του[τ]ωι τοινυν τωι λογ[ω]ι
 [επληγ]ησαν και την γνωμην
 130 [λεγον]ται α[.]θων ειρηκεναι α[.]ων
 [.] . ως ουδεν οφελος υστερον

Col. viii.

	π[ρος το]ν [	c. 18]
	[.]νον ληψ[	c. 17]
	δεσσει· α . σ[	c. 17]
135	ηλ[.]εν και . [	c. 14]
	τε . [.]ωι τωι[	c. 14	ε]
	πειτα τα α[	c. 16]
	σφυρα και . [	c. 15]
	η εδιδος[	c. 17]
140	ειπεν [	c. 19]
	εγω με[ν	c. 19]
	λαμβανω [	c. 17]
	ουν κα[.]ν[	c. 16]
	[.] τουτογ μ[	c. 16]
145	που υπο[	c. 18]
	[.]ον . [	c. 20]

	π[.] . σ[	c. 20]
	[.]τα γι[	c. 18]
	τ[ε [. . .]ν. η[	c. 16]
150	πε . ε . [	c. 19]
	α[.]μ[.] ουν υ[	c. 16]
	π . . []
	προς τον μ[	c. 13	οδε λο]
	γος εφαρμ[οζει	c. 10	αν]
155	θρωποι υ[	c. 18]
	ο Ερμης αν[.]τ[	c. 14]
	δεν εταξαν [	c. 15]

6. As the formula in the next line shows, a new fable began either here or in l. 5; if in the latter, [προς τους π]ονηρο[υ]s might be read.

16. This line is level with l. 6 in col. i.

19. This fable, of the wild boar and the horse, who called in man to assist him against his enemy (or *How the Horse got his Bridle*), is no. 329 in Chambry where it has the title Σὺς (ἄγριος) καὶ ἵππος καὶ κυνηγέτης. In this form it is extant only in Codex Parisinus 690, and does not appear in Halm. The same fable appears in a fuller form as Chambry, 144 Ἴππος καὶ σὺς ἄγριος from Codex Bodleianus (also omitted in Halm). What is, however, in substance the same story, with a stag taking the place of the wild boar, was included by Halm in his collection (no. 175) from Aristotle, *Rhet.* ii. 20; here it is said to have been told by Stesichorus to the men of Himera, when they chose Phalaris as their ruler. Fragmentary as the story is in the papyrus, it may be noted that in vocabulary this version differs from all the others; neither κοινωνέω, λυμαίνομαι nor πολλάκις occur in the extant versions.

The moral attached to this fable (as always in the papyrus, placed before the story; in all our MSS. of Aesop, the moral, commonly introduced by ὁ μῦθος δηλοῖ or ὅτι, follows the story) is different from that in the versions mentioned above. That attached to Chambry, 144 runs: ὅτι θυμὸς οἶδεν δουλώσαι καὶ ταπεινώσαι ἄνδρα γενναῖον καὶ πρὸς ἄμυναν [γενέσθαι] τοῦ ἀδικηκότος (ὥρμημένον)—which is not particularly suited to this fable; that at the end of Chambry, 329 runs, more suitably: οὕτω πολλοὶ δι' ἀλόγιστον ὀργήν, ἕως τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι θέλουσιν, ἐαυτοὺς ἐτέροις ὑπορρίπτουσιν. The present moral may be assumed to be directed against the strong man, who lets himself be controlled by others.

24. ποη: the traces suit an η better than any other letter, and τα(s) ποas cannot be read, even if the plural were admissible. The form can only be set down as an error on the part of the scribe, perhaps due to a confusion with πῶν.

For the sense cf. Chambry, 329 τοῦ δὲ συνὸς παρ' ἕκαστα τὴν πόαν διαφθείροντος.

34. The traces would suit best the reading εθροησε, although neither ηλοησε or even .μοησε can be quite excluded; but as there is no genitive in agreement with the του of the proceeding line, it seems likely that the text is corrupt.

The end of the line has been left blank, as each fable began on a fresh line.

35. The moral of the following fable appears in the MSS. versions (Halm, 378: Chambry, 317) as: οὕτως καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολλοί, δι' ἄγνοίαν τοὺς μηδὲν προσήκοντας εὐεργετοῦντες, κατὰ τῶν οἰκείων φαῦλα ἐργάζονται. The other two versions given by Chambry differ only slightly in the arrangement of the words and in the syntax, whereas the text in the papyrus clearly belongs to a different tradition.

38. The asyndeton is harsh, even for this type of literature; perhaps we should insert (καὶ) before αναβας.

ῥαβδίζω, in this sense, is not a common word: it does not occur in any of the extant versions of this fable.

40. The text in this and the following lines is corrupt to an unusual degree for a literary text of this quality. We may suppose that the original text ran approximately as follows: τὰ δὲ πρόβατα περὶ τε τῶν βαλάνων ἐμαχήσατο καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ διέφθειρεν. That the sheep first fought over the acorns is a touch not found in the other versions.

47. This line is level with l. 73 in col. v.

48-9. Possibly a moral; but, if so, and at the beginning of the story, the latter must have been short as with l. 60 a new fable begins.

59. The end of this line has been left blank as with l. 60 a new fable begins.

60. *πρᾶξις*, in contrast with *πράγματα*, does not occur often in Aesop. It is found, in the dative, in the moral to Chambry, 88, the fable of the man with the drunken wife. Other supplements are possible here.

73-74. In the MSS. of Aesop three fables (Chambry, 99, 132, and 262) have the moral which is here placed in the mouth of one of the characters in the story, attached to them as an *ἐπιμύθιον* and differently worded; of these, either 132 or 262 would suit this context and there is nothing definite to show whether Ἡρως (as in 132) or Τύχη (as in 262) is the speaker. In favour of the former is the fact that in the MSS. the story of Heracles and Plutus immediately precedes that of the Demigod, and would, in the papyrus, immediately follow it; they may well have been close to one another in some earlier collection. Again, on the analogy of both stories, the strong aorist participle of *ἐφίστημι* might be restored in l. 72; and *επιστας*, agreeing with Ἡρως, would suit the space better than *επιστασα*, agreeing with Τύχη. Of the π in this word nothing more survives than a few dots sufficient to indicate an upright stroke.

75 sq. For purposes of comparison, the fable of Heracles and Plutus as it appears in the MSS. is given (Halm, 160: Chambry, 131): Ἡρακλῆς ἰσοθεωθεὶς καὶ παρὰ Διὶ ἐστιώμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν θεῶν μετὰ πολλῆς φιλοφροσύνης ἡσπάζετο. Καὶ δὴ τελευταίου εἰσιόντος τοῦ Πλούτου, κατὰ τοῦ ἐδάφους κύψας ἀπεστρέψατο αὐτόν. Ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς θαυμάσας τὸ γεγονός, ἐπυνθάνετο αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν πάντας ἀσμένως προσαγορεύσας μόνον τὸν Πλοῦτον ὑποβλέπεται. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· “ἀλλ' ἔγω γε διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ὑποβλέπομαι, ὅτι παρ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἤμην, ἑώρων αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῖς πονηροῖς συνόντα.” Ὁ λόγος λεχθείη ἂν ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς πλουσίου μὲν τὴν τύχην, πονηροῦ δὲ τὸν τρόπον.

75. This use of *ισα καὶ* as little more than a strengthened form of *καί* appears to be without warrant; but no other reading seems plausible. The *καὶ* is certain, and the only alternative to *ισ* would be *η* or (less likely) *κα*, which would suggest a confusion between *κακός* and *καί*: the straight vertical stroke excludes alike *ος* and *τον*, even if the other traces suited these letters.

77. We should expect one, if not two, verbs at the end of the line; but *εἰσ[τ]ια* (which seems the only possible verb ending in *-τιάω*) is not really suitable, unless it was preceded by e.g. *ανεδ[ε]ξατο*; this is too long for a normal line, but some letters may have been omitted.

79. *επιον[τα]*: *εισιοντα* would give a better sense, but would be a very difficult reading.

83. l. *κάτω*.

87. l. *ἀπεκρίνατο*.

91. In the ordinary version of this story, Plutus makes no reply to the remarks of Heracles and the fable ends with the latter's explanation of his behaviour. Here it looks as if Plutus pointed out that the fault lay not with him, but with those who misused his gifts.

97. This line is level with l. 85 in col. v.

103. This fable, of how the owl gave the other birds good advice which they neglected, and later refused to advise them any more, does not appear in the MSS. of Aesop (and consequently is not in Chambry's collection), but is used in two different forms by Dio Chrysostom (Halm, 105 and 106) and attributed to 'Aesop'. The version in the papyrus appears to be the same in substance as that given by Dio Chrysostom, lxxii. 14 sq. (Halm, 106), though differing widely in phrasing. In the story the owl declines the invitation of the other birds to settle on the oak and warns them that from the oak will come the deadly mistletoe (*ἰξός*).

It seems probable that this line is the first of the column. Above the λ is a small, blank piece of papyrus, although of course the line above may have been a short one. But it is clear that at the end of this column the fable is near its conclusion, and with the first line of col. viii a new fable begins. If we allow a gap of two lines at the top of col. viii—it can hardly be more—then l. 103 is the first of col. vii.

107. Perhaps *αναφ[υ]εισαν . .]* *ησ[τ]η[θε]το κτλ.*

108. Perhaps *κα[ι] λυ[π]ην.*

111. Though *ολιγ[ω]* could easily be read, it is difficult to see what part of *ὀλιγορέω* could have stood here, as the η at the end of the line is very probable and *ολιγ[ω]ρ[η]σα[ν]τ[ω]ν* is certainly impossible, nor is there space for *ολιγ[ω]ρουντων η*. Possibly some letters were omitted and written above the line.

The supplement at the beginning of the line is a little long, but *[υστερο]ν* would be on the short side.

118. *περιπετον*, from an otherwise unvouched for present form *περιπέτειν*—unless we assume that the text is corrupt and read *περιπετο(μενη)ν*. *ηι*, i.e. *ῆ*, cf. *κατωι* in l. 83.

120. It is a little doubtful whether there is room for *λίσσ[ονται]*; the fibre on which the *σ* survives is so loose that its exact position cannot be determined. Near the end of the line the *ω* has been partly written over the erased *π*.

122. Instead of *λιγ*, *νη* might be read.

130. [*λεγον*]*ται* is preferable to *φαινονται* which we might expect here in view of l. 72, as it suits the space better: there is just room for *λέγονται*, while *φαίνονται* would definitely make too long a line. Is a misplaced *ἀνθ' ὧν* to be recognized in *α[ν]θων*? *οὕτως* would be expected.

132. Probably two lines are missing at the head of this column which contained the concluding moral of the fable of the Owl and the Birds.

133. In the scanty fragments that survive there appears to be no clue to the identity of this fable. *σφυρα* (l. 138) should be of assistance; but a *χαλκεύς* figures only in one fable (Halm, 413: Chambry, 346) and, *σφύρα* apart (the word does occur in the third version of this story given by Chambry), there is no reason to connect it with this text.

134. The point in this line is the only example of punctuation in the papyrus. In the space above the letter between the *α* and the *σ* is what looks like a smooth breathing¹, but it may be part of an inserted letter.

153. From the little that survives it seems doubtful whether this fable is to be identified with any of these in which the name of Hermes appears in the title. More probably it represents a different version of *Ζεὺς κριτής* (Halm, 152: Chambry, 127), in which Hermes figures as the assistant of Zeus in assessing the iniquities of mankind.

494-500. MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS (VERSE).

The following seven small fragments, all unidentified and all verse, may be conveniently grouped together. All were acquired in 1917, and, with the exception of **498**, to which no provenance was assigned, and the two cartonnage fragments, **496** and **499**, were all stated to come from Oxyrhynchus.

The first is a fragment from the top of a column, written along the fibres in a broad, regular book-hand with a slight slope to the right. The verso is blank. The verses are hexameters and the subject may be the return of Persephone (cf. *καθοδ[ι]* in l. 3) to the upper world.

495 very probably belongs to a tragedy. It is written in a large and rounded hand, with a slight backward slope. Accents, &c., are in a second hand; the correction in l. 2 is by the first hand. The verso is blank.

496 consists of two fragments from the same piece of cartonnage which included **458**, the Deuteronomy papyrus, and **499** below. The hand is similar to that of the Homer papyrus, **539**, of the same origin, and may be assigned to the later second century B.C. The use of *ἄφθιτος* in l. 5 suggests that it may be part of a tragedy.

497 is written along the fibres in a heavy, square hand of the first century; *μ* is deep and broad, and *α* angular with a horizontal cross-stroke. Apparently it contains, in part at least, iambic verses; Lobel suggests that it may have been an anthology. If so, the shorter lines may have been subject headings. There are no accents or punctuation; the verso is blank.

498, small as it is, is of some interest since it is an early example of the use of the papyrus codex for non-Christian literature. It is written in a neat and remarkably small hand (the height of an average letter is 2 mm.), clearly influenced by cursive scripts and with occasional ligatures; it is probably to be dated in the early third century. This hand bears a very close resemblance to that of P. Lit. Lond. 53, a third-century codex of Semonides of Amorgos (?), *Iambi*, also written in a very small and semi-cursive hand. Very probably the codex was in proportion to the writing, and was one of those pocket editions of the classics mentioned by Martial as suitable presents at the Saturnalia (see Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Greece and Rome*, pp. 92 sq.). The ink is a dark black, fading to grey where the scribe has mixed too much water with it; accents and breathings (and probably punctuation also) are by a second hand. Of the contents there is little to be said, except that they were clearly in iambic verse, and were part of a comedy (most probably New Comedy), not tragedy.

499 is the largest of the unidentified literary scraps recovered from mummy cartonnage together with **458**. Part of two columns, written in a free, slightly sloping, second-century hand, survive; which appear (or col. i at any rate) to be in elegiac verse; below this are traces of four more lines which reach at least across the inter-columnar space, and are not certainly metrical. Fragment (b) is a small piece of the upper layer of the papyrus and probably belongs to col. ii. On the verso are traces of demotic writing.

500 is written along the fibres in rather a large sloping hand, for which cf. P. Oxy. 1787, 1788. Line 1—perhaps a title, or a line omitted and afterwards added in the margin—is by the same hand, but smaller. Both the presence of accents and perhaps l. 1 suggest that the contents were verse rather than prose. The verso is blank.

494.

5 × 4.4 cm.

Later second century.
PLATE 7.

]η προθυροῖς γε[
Δ]ημητρα καὶ εσσ[
]η κραδιη καθοδ[
] . γ[.]νησιγ[.] . [
· · · · ·

495.

2.9 × 5.8 cm.

Early second century.
PLATE 5.

· · · · ·
] . [
] . τῆς ἀχ[α][ι]
]ἐπι πρῶμ[
]έναι τ[
5]ν καὶ πο[
]φῆμεν [
2. Perhaps Αχ[α][λλ] .
S

496.

Frag. (a) 2.6 × 5.6 cm.

Later second century B.C.

Frag. (a).

Frag. (b).

. . .
]ησισα . [
]ν[
]α . ηλ[ι]ο[ν]
]νερμιστη[
 5]ν αφθιτο[
]κηνω . [
]θουσαν[
]εργα[
 . . .

. . .
] . βροτ[
 10] . εσ[
 . . .

497.

5.6 × 10.6 cm.

First century.

. . .
 αμ . [
 ουτ[
 μηνε[
 η μηδ[
 5 μελο . [
 . [

ευροισ α[
 ε . [
 δρυσ ταιν[
 10 κινειν π[
 ου γαρ . [
 ιατρος [
 βλεπουσι γαρ τ[

9. Instead of δ, β might be read; no other letter seems likely. βρύσται is glossed by Hesychius as κρημνοί. καὶ πόλις κρημνώδης.

12. There is no trace of ink after ιατρος, which may have been a title; if so, the preceding line is perhaps best explained as a pentameter to which l. 10 would be attached as the hexameter.

498.

2 × 3.2 cm.

Third century.
PLATE 5.

Recto.

Verso.

. . .
]νόης
]ηναι· τοδ' ε[.]
] . εἶν εἶν·
]αθ' ἡ γυνη
 5] . εἶνι :
]θι[
 . . .

. . .
 πεμπε . [
 . θη . εἶν[
 τοπος δέ [
 10 καλουμέν[
 Απολλον· ε[
 [. . .]αγμα[
 . . .

3. The last letters of this line are smudged and there may have been a correction; possibly ἐπεί should be read.

5. Above the second letter of this line is an accent or apostrophe, which has either been smudged or, more probably, crossed out.

10. The κ does not come directly below the τ of *τοπος*, and it is possible that another letter preceded it; but the fact that the κ is larger than other letters, with a long flourish reaching below the line, makes this unlikely.

11. This ejaculation, hardly possible in tragedy, is not infrequent in New Comedy: cf. the indices in Jensen's *Menandri Reliquiae* and Meineke's *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*.

499

7.8 x 9 cm.

Later second century B.C.

Frag. (a).

Col. i.

Col. ii.

. . .
]χ[
]εφιζ[
]ρ[.] . . κεν . [
] αμβροσιαισιν
 5] . γστρεφεται
 ο]ννομ εχουσα
]ιλων
]εται Ελλας
] . . σοφiai
 10] . ισθα
]ονον . .
] . ολεμαι και αυξο[
]ουπτομε[
]ς επ[ι] πτολ[
 15]υ . [
 . . .

[. . .]ερ . [
 εξ . [. .]χ[
 ε . . . [. .]φ[
 [
 20 δ . . ετ . [
 . . .

Frag. (b).

. . .
]νκανενιζο[
 . . .

12. The mark before the σ may be merely a linking stroke; if it is part of a letter, σ might be read: π cannot.

500.

2.1 x 6 cm.

Third century.

]λωδία[

]και λισ[
] . συ' ψι[
]τοι πολ[
 5]καν κατ[
] . ρησεις [
] [.] δέμ[

1. Perhaps αυ]λωδια (Lobel).

7. Nothing remains of the letter below the diaeresis.

501-521. MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS (PROSE).

This group includes all the small and unidentified fragments which are not obviously verse. Of these, **515** and **516** were in the same folder as **487** and so belong to the original purchase by Hunt; **509**, **510**, and **511** were acquired in 1920, the rest in 1917.

The first three were recovered from the same pieces of cartonnage which produced **458**, **496**, **499**, and **539**. They are written in different but similar hands, probably of the later second century B.C.; that of **502** is heavier than the others and has a slight slope to the right. The mention of Rome in **501**—of some interest in a papyrus of this date—indicates that the text was historical and might suggest Polybius as the author; but I have been unable to identify this fragment with any passage in the extant works; fragment (a) appears to be in *oratio recta*. Short spaces have been left in ll. 9 and 10, presumably to indicate the end of a sentence; between ll. 3 and 4 and again in l. 12 is a considerable gap, perhaps to mark the end of a section. Not enough survives of either **502** or **503** to give any clue to the contents.

504 is a narrative fragment, the vocabulary of which is so reminiscent of Thucydides, vi. 46 (the passage describing the trick played by the Segestaeans on the Athenian ambassadors in 416 B.C.), as to allow the conjecture that the same incident is the subject of **504**. The relevant passage of Thucydides is quoted in the note. The same incident was also described by Diodorus, xii. 83, and Polyaeus, *Strat.* vi. 21, both of whom derive their account from Thucydides. The similarity between the vocabulary of this fragment and that of the passage in Thucydides may be no more than a coincidence; but it is possible that we have a scrap from some history of Sicily, perhaps from the *Περὶ Σικελίας* of Philistus, to whom both P. Oxy. 665 and the Florence papyrus published by G. Coppola have been ascribed.¹ The hand is a very handsome uncial of the square, upright type (cf. Schubart, *Pal.*, Abb. 93); *ν* at the end of a line is represented by a line drawn over the preceding vowel; accents—rare in a prose text—are to be noted in ll. 8 and 12. If the reconstruction suggested in the note to l. 9 is correct, the number of letters to a line was between 12 and 15. The verso is blank.

505 is a fragment from the bottom of a page of a papyrus codex, written in a heavy, square hand not unlike that of P. Amh. 1. The ink is of the usual brown variety. A small ink mark in the left margin of the recto perhaps indicates that this is an inner, not an outer margin, i.e. that recto precedes verso. The lower margin measures 3.7 cm. The work to which it belongs was a metrical treatise; the surviving fragment seems to deal with the pyrrhic.

506 is written along the fibres in a slanting and somewhat faded third-century hand; on the verso are traces of an account. If *μεταφορά* is correctly read in l. 7, the fragment may belong to a work on rhetoric. A slight pause in l. 3 probably indicates the end of a sentence.

507 is a fragment from the bottom of a page of a papyrus codex, written in the elegant slanting hand that was the precursor of the more formal Byzantine type. It has some resemblance to Schubart, *Pal.*, Abb. 98, but is considerably freer; small finials may be

¹ See G. Coppola in *Rivista di Filologia*, 58 (1930), pp. 449 sq.

noticed on some letters, in particular τ and υ ; ϵ is angular and large, while β is pinched and reaches above and below the line. If the Eusebius of l. 9 is one of the ecclesiastical writers of that name, the fragment may belong to a Christian apologetic work which attacked the pagan mythology; but he may be one of the late rhetoricians of that name, see *RE*, vi. 1445, nos. 35-8.

Another fragment from a papyrus codex, of rather later date, is **508**, written in a bold, slanting hand in reddish brown ink. It obviously belongs to a prose work, but there is nothing to give a clue to its nature.

To judge from the vocabulary, **509** should be part of an oratorical work, but I have been unable to attach it to any extant speech. It is written along the fibres in a small, rounded, and rather heavy hand; on the verso are traces, badly rubbed, of a document.

The recto of **510** is occupied with what is most probably a philosophical text written in a rounded, rather broad, book-hand; the subject seems to be a discussion of $\tau\acute{o}\ \acute{o}\lambda\omicron\nu$ and $\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$, such as is extant in Plato, *Theaetetus*, 204 sq. More puzzling is the text on the verso, written in a slanting, cursive hand and full of abbreviations (for which see notes: some appear to be new). The only clue to its identity lies in the names $\Lambda\pi\alpha\mu\alpha\nu$ and $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa()$, although in neither case is the reading quite certain; if they are correct, the fragment probably belongs to a historical or chronological work on the Seleucid kingdom.

Both **511** and **512** also may have belonged to philosophical works. The former is written in a small book-hand of the second century A.D., and has traces of writing on the verso; the latter is written on the verso across the fibres in a small, neat hand of much the same period; the recto is blank. The spaces after lines 3 and 10 are probably due to the scribe's having started each section on a new line.

513 is written along the fibres on rather coarse papyrus, several layers thick, in a small, crabbed hand of the second, or perhaps the late first, century A.D. The surface is abraded in parts and the ink smudged. At the bottom, in the space after l. 11, the papyrus has been pierced with a small hole. On the verso has been written in large, upright letters ἵς οἶκον .

514 contains part of two columns written along the fibres in a hand which is probably an early example of the so-called 'Biblical' type (cf. the Hawara Homer in Kenyon's *Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, Plate XX, which it closely resembles). A paragraphus has been placed below l. 11 and a line-filler in l. 1. The verso is blank.

515 is a small cartonnage fragment, written along the fibres in a hand similar to that of P. Grenf. II. vii (b), or to that of P. Hib. 20. The letters are long and narrow, with a slight slope; the ink is deep black. Another small fragment of the same is too rubbed for any letters to be identified. Possibly this scrap belonged not to a prose work but to e.g. a comedy.

Another piece of early Ptolemaic cartonnage is **517**, written in a smaller and more cursive hand than **516**. Both these were found, together with **487**, among the Byzantine documents which formed part of the original collection, and were presumably overlooked by mistake when Volume I was in preparation. Hence it is not unlikely that, like **16a** and perhaps **39**, they originally came from Hibeh.

517 is remarkable as being a fragment of an opisthograph roll; both the hand on the recto and that on the verso are unmistakably book-hands, the former being upright and

medium-sized (the ϕ with an unusually long upright stroke and a broad, pinched bow is noticeable), that on the verso small, neat, and slanting. On the recto at right angles to the text another hand has added $\Delta\iota\sigma\kappa\iota$, which may have some reference to the text on the verso. The text on the recto may be attributed to the second half of the second century, that on the verso to the end of the same or the beginning of the next century.

518 is a fragment from the bottom of a column, written along the fibres in an upright hand of the early second century (cf. Schubart, *Pal.*, Abb. 35). The margin is 7 cm. in depth (for a still deeper margin, see P. Ryl. 16); the verso is blank.

519 is a scrap from the top of a column, **520** from the top of a leaf of a papyrus codex; the former is written in a small, neat hand of the second century, the latter in a broad, sloping hand, certainly not earlier than the fifth century.

521 consists of two exiguous scraps, written across the fibres in a small, heavy and slightly slanting hand, probably of the second half of the second century; they might just as well belong to a verse as to a prose work. On the verso are traces of a document.

501.

Frag. (a) 4 x 9 cm.

Later second century B.C.

Frag. (a).

Frag. (b).

. . . .
] . αλ . [
] Ελλαδ[
]πουσι . απ[
] . [
]τωι Ρωμαιωι [
 5]ν ουν αντισ[
] . νηρωσ[
]σεληα[.] . [
]ηγαν αυτα[
] . ιοις και τοις [
 10]υσιν Καρος οι δη[
] ημετεραν χρ[ειαν ?
] . κ[.]ρι[

15

. . . .
] . [.]υχο[
] . χ[.]ρον [
]ε[.]τηδη[
] . αναγρα[
] . . ομε[
] . . [

10. The ρ in this line seems unavoidable, as traces of a long stroke below the line can be seen; neither $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$ nor $\kappa\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ can be read. $\kappa\alpha\rho\varsigma$ might be either the genitive of $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho$ or the Latin name *Carus*.

14. Before the χ is a middle point, preceded by a small gap. There may have been two letters between the χ and the ρ .

502.

3.5 x 7 cm.

Later second century B.C.

. . . .
]ην [
]ρ[.]ματα σ[
]παρ ημων επ[

]ρενοντα τοις ε[
 5]να και θεους ε[
]ωμενος συννε[
]ηρωι και αλομ[
]εφο . [

503.

2.7 × 4.7 cm.

Later second century B.C.

. . .
 [. .] . [
 θηνισ[
 χρονο[
 δε προ[

5 κεν τε[
 κει ρημ[
 σπε . . [
 . . ο[
 . . .

504.

5 × 11.3 cm.

Second to third century.
PLATE 5.

. . .
] . τυ .
]υς
]νυν
]χες κοσμου(ν)
 5] ηττονες
]αι κατασκευ

ευδ]αιμονες
 ι]ματίων
 πο]λλω'ί' δε χρυ
 10]ε και αργυ
]ς δε εκπω
] μην αγαλ
 ? διαγ]ραμμασι(ν)

1 sq. The most relevant sentence in Thucydides, vi. 46 runs as follows: ἔς τε τὸ ἐν Ἑρυκί ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀγαγόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπέδειξαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, φιάλας τε καὶ οἰνοχόας καὶ θυμιατήρια καὶ ἄλλην κατασκευὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἃ ὄντα ἀργυρᾷ πολλῷ πλείω τὴν ὄψιν ἀπ' ὀλίγης δυνάμεως χρημάτων παρείχετο· καὶ ἰδίᾳ ξενίσεις ποιοῦμενοι τῶν τριηρι- τῶν τὰ τε ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἐγέστης ἐκπώματα καὶ χρυσᾷ καὶ ἀργυρᾷ ξυλλέξαντες καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἐγγὺς πόλεων καὶ Φοινικικῶν καὶ Ἑλληνίδων αἰτησάμενοι ἐσέφερον ἐς τὰς ἐστιάσεις ὡς οἰκεία ἕκαστοι.

9. The following reconstruction of this and the following lines may be offered: πολλῶι δε χρυσῶι τε και ἀργυρῶι πολλοῖς δε ἐκπωμασιν και μην ἀγαλμασιν. If διαγραμμασιν in l. 13 is correct (for the meaning *schedule*, *list*, cf. Demosthenes, xiv. 21 and xlvii. 36) it may have stood in a parenthesis.

505.

12.3 × 9.6 cm.

Fifth to sixth century.

Recto.

.
 [.]ειο[
 [.]αχε[
 [.]ν ηνο[
 [.]ασικε . [
 5 τ[. . . .]χειας τ[
 νο[. . . .]ν καπη[
 μα[. . .] . [.]ον μακ[ρ . .]κ . [
 χε[. .]σ[.]αι μακραῖ πε . [
 χ[. .] . ιος οἰς αν ηγεμων [

	[.]ον στηναι	]υς και λο
	[. .]ο θεοφιλ[	] . προς κα
5	[. .] μελλων [	α]γαθων
	[. .]αβαλλο . [	]ως εχει
	[. . .]αρησα[	15]την του
	[. . .]ι πολ[	]υσας

4. Perhaps the proper name, Θεοφιλ[ος.

509.

3.9 × 5 cm.

Second century.

.
] . ρα
]ων
 υ]πευθυνος
 ε]ισαγει
 5 λ]οιδορει
]ες χειρω
]ρ[. . . .]
] . εσ[. . . .]
 εγ]κωμιαζ[.]

510.

6.3 × 7.9 cm.

Second to third century.

PLATE 9.

Recto.

Verso.

. δ
]δικα . εκατερον ε
]ρωγα . . αν γαρ οτι δ[.]
] . . ηι εκ τουτων δ[.]
 5]κενοις τας τα μερη
]το ολον αναγκη το παρ[.]
]κοστουκενενποδ[.]
] . σ . [.]τωι αλλ εν πλει
 [στοις]ρο[.]ητα και το
 10]ηρων . ι
]οτωα
]ω . ηπ[. . .]

.
 [.]τιστ[
 [.]κευ() δ(ια)λεγ[
 [.]υδ() καλλα[
 [.]δικ() ε() τε[
 5 [. . . .]ιμ . λιαν υ()πτο . [ε
 πιβιωσας οβ δ(ια)δοχ[ος ?
 γεγονως Σελευκ() μ . [
 ισως α() κ(αι)περ σ(υν)ελ() επι[
 δ(ια) τ(ην) Απαμαν ωρασθ(αι) [
 10 οπλο(υ) δι ον αφ() σ(υλ)λεγομ() [
 φοβος γυε . α() . γινομ() [
 ουρανο(υ) ημιθαιο(υ) κοκυ[

Recto.

1. Line 2 is quite clearly the first line of the column and consequently it is difficult to interpret the .δ as other than numeration. For the numeration of *columns* there is little or no evidence, cf. Schubart, *Das Buch*², p. 137; the letter before δ resembles an ο (thus, if the letters are numerals, giving a surprisingly high figure), but an μ is not impossible.

4. Above the second τ of $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$ are clear traces of ink; these look most like a τ , but perhaps are intended as a critical sign, I (cf. $\cdot\text{I}\cdot$ in the Antinoë Juvenal, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xxi (1935), p. 202).
 5. Perhaps $\kappa\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma$, from $\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma = tolerable$, but this does not seem probable.
 7. The division of this line is difficult. The double $\epsilon\nu$ may be due to dittography; if so, we might read $\kappa\omicron\varsigma\tau' \omicron\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$.

Verso.

2. $\kappa\epsilon\nu' \delta$ P. The former abbreviation is perhaps for $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon\nu\omega\nu$: for the symbol cf. BKT. I, p. 2, and BKT. IV, pp. 2 sq.; for the latter see note to l. 6.
 3. $\nu\delta'$ P. The stroke of abbreviation is more slanting than that after ν in l. 2: perhaps $\tau\omicron\nu\delta(\epsilon)$. If the following word is a proper name, either $\text{Καλλα}\iota\sigma\chi\rho\omicron\varsigma$ or $\text{Καλλα}\varsigma$ might be read; but neither seems very suitable in this context.
 4. $\delta\iota\kappa' \epsilon'$ P. The former is probably for $\delta\iota\kappa(\eta\varsigma)$: for the symbol cf. BKT. IV, p. 2; ϵ' normally = $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ but in l. 8 this is not abbreviated.
 5. $\omicron\mu\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\nu$ cannot be read here; instead of the first ι , ρ might be read, while the letter preceding the λ is probably \omicron or ω . ν' P; probably $\acute{\nu}(\pi\acute{o})$ or $\acute{\nu}(\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho)$, more probably the former. $\Pi\tau\omicron\lambda[\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\nu]$ might be read.
 6. δ P. This abbreviation appears to be new: $\delta\iota\alpha$ is commonly abbreviated δ' .
 7. $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\nu\kappa'$ P.
 8. $\iota\sigma\omega\varsigma \alpha'$ P; perhaps for some form of $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$: $\delta(\epsilon)$ might be read for α , but is less likely. $\kappa\iota\sigma\iota\epsilon\lambda$ P. The usual symbol for $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ is σ' .
 9. $\delta\tau'$ P. The latter is the regular abbreviation for $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$. For the name Απαμα , see Pape, *Namenbuch*, s.v.; one bearer of this name was the wife of Seleucus Nicator. $\omega\rho\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$: ? for $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$.
 10. $\alpha\phi'$ P. The abbreviation after $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu$ as after $\gamma\iota\nu\omicron\mu$ in the next line is the same as that after $\omega\rho\alpha\sigma\theta$ in l. 9, i.e. ς ; but here it seems more likely to stand for the participial than for the infinitival termination.
 11. α' P. The next letter resembles δ , the symbol for $\frac{1}{4}$, but what looks like ink may only be a stain.
 12. $\eta\mu\iota\theta\alpha\iota\omicron(\nu)$: perhaps for $\eta\mu\iota\theta\epsilon\omicron\nu$, but the reading is doubtful. At the end of the line, presumably $\kappa\omicron\kappa\kappa\upsilon\zeta$, or some part or derivative of it, should be read.

511.

3.2 x 5.6 cm.

Second century.

.
 περ]ι των ερωτωμ[ενων
 ε]ντρεπεσθαι [
]μη . [.] τοι[
] . ρα παντα[
 5]ντωλα[. .] . θ[ε[
] . . αει . [.] την τ[
]μνη[
] . . ν[

512.

3.6 x 5.4 cm.

Second century.
PLATE 6.

]αρω]πα αλ]αιτε ψευ] 5] . ιν αληθ[.]] . εγερθη]εως το κα]ς τρεχει]ος ει δε μη 10 τ]ο αγαθον] σ]χολην του
--	---	--	--

513.

2.7 x 8 cm.

? Second century.

.
]αμαλν . . [
]ετα οδε π[
]μματα σου[
]τ . σξξαο[
 5] . πο . [
] . . υπεν στη . [
]υτης δε πατρ[

] . αμα παυσοντ[
]ν . . λως εστ[
 10]μοι και η[
]ινοις εν κα . [
] [
] . ακεται . . [

514.

7 x 7 cm.

Second century.
PLATE 7.

Col. i.

Col. ii.

.
]ο μακα >
]υμειτο
]ειν σα
]ον εκε
 5]τω σοφι
]πρα
]οι

.
 οτι κ . [
 τας π[
 10 πονο[
 νετογ [
 και οπ[
 . [. .]π[
 ραν ν . [
 15 λονται
 της φ[
 [.]ον φ[

515.

2.6 x 2.4 cm.

Third century B.C.
PLATE 5.

.
]αλλον[
]ρ θεοις εδοξε τ[
] γλυκυ τι πα[
]ναι τα ατι . [
 5]κ `ει [.] τρ[

516.

2 x 2.2 cm.

Third century B.C.

.
]ηπ[
] . s προς τε να[
]φ . υπητη . [
 2. Or προσγενα[μεν . . .]

517.

2.6 × 3.5 cm.

Second century.

Recto.

Verso.

. . .
 ματ[
 διδο[
 λογο[
 συνε[
 5 και ετ[
 φιαν[
 [.]ναν[
 . . .

. . .
]ειτ[
] . ταλαις κ[
] τοιουτων υ[
]οραν ειτ[
 5]στηκοσιν[
]νων ευμ . [
] ταυτα και χα[
]ον επιμεμ[
]επειαν π[
 10] . [.]τ . [

518.

3.2 × 8.1 cm.

Early second century.

. . .
]αντες ν[
]εν δ ου μα[

519.

2.3 × 3.2 cm.

Second century.

]ητου επ[
]π . . . τον[
]ωι και τα[
] . [

520.

3 × 5.7 cm.

Fifth to sixth century.

Recto.

Verso.

]σου ισερχ[
]ννο[

]κεραιον α[
 . . .

I. I. εισερχ[

521.

Frag. (a) 1.3 × 2 cm.

Late second century.

(a)

(b)

. . .

. . .

νω[

] . ασθ[

μ[

]εισαπ[

τε[

]ργειων[

εν[

]τασε . [

5 . . ο[

. . .

. . .

8. ? A]ργειων.

IV. SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL TEXTS

522. PTOLEMY, Ἐπισήμων Πόλεων Κανών.¹

Acquired in 1917. ? Fayûm.

11.3 × 11.7 cm.

Third century.
PLATE 4.

This papyrus, on the recto of which are the astronomical tables (no. 523), contains on the verso² a select list of cities (in the extant portion are included those of Spain, Gaul, the Danubian provinces and Italy), accompanied in each case by a statement of their respective longitude and latitude. As Honigmann (*op. cit.*, p. 62) has shown, the term ἐπίσημοι πόλεις may well be older than Ptolemy and may have denoted even before his time a fixed list of cities; it is, however, particularly associated with the Ἐπισήμων Πόλεων Κανών which formed the *πρῶτον κανόνιον* of Ptolemy's *Πρόχειροι Κανόνες* and was designed to serve as a *Hilfsmittel* (Honigmann, p. 70) to the astronomical tables. (It may be noted that the tables on the recto of this papyrus are certainly Ptolemaic in origin; see introd. to 523.) This list has often been regarded as a late and spurious by-product of the *Geography* (so apparently O. Cuntz, *Die Geographie des Ptolemaeus* (Berlin, 1923), pp. 37-8) and is not printed by Heiberg in his text of the *Πρόχειροι Κανόνες*; while W. Kubitschek *Die Kalenderbücher, Denkschr. Kais. Akad. Wien*, lvii (1915), 3, pp. 76-7, who thinks it of some value for the text of Ptolemy, regards it merely as an excerpt from Bk. VIII of the *Geography* and considers that the measurements by latitude and longitude (the form in which they appear in the papyrus) were first inserted in the *Κανών* by an editor of the late fourth-century astronomer Theon—a view which is refuted by the existence of this papyrus. In Bk. VIII of the *Geography* Ptolemy gives a select list of geographical names to accompany the maps to his *Geography* in which the positions are given, not by degrees of longitude and latitude, but by the difference in time calculated from the meridian of Alexandria and by the number of hours on the longest day. Although Ptolemy explicitly says (*Opera Astronomica Minora*, ed. Heiberg, p. 159) περιέχουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι κανόνες τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης ἐπισημοτέρων πόλεων τὰς κατὰ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος ἐποχάς, this list in Bk. VIII has often been regarded as the source of the *Κανών*. Against this view Honigmann (p. 71) is of opinion that Ptolemy published the *Κανών* because the method employed in Bk. VIII was so clumsy as to render it too difficult to use; both he and Schnabel, who (p. 242) regards Bk. VIII as an earlier work than the *Κανών*, are of opinion that the *Κανών* in its original form contained only the names listed in Bk. VIII.³

¹ The principal works which I have used in editing this text are as follows: E. Honigmann, *Die Sieben Klimata und die Πόλεις Ἐπίσημοι* (Heidelberg, 1929); J. Fischer, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae Codex Urbinas Graecus 82*, Tomus Prodromus (Leyden/Leipzig, 1932); P. Schnabel, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte des kartographischen Erdbildes des Klaudius Ptolemaios*, S. B. Preuss. Akad. 1930, pp. 214-50. I wish also to thank Dr. J. G. Smyly, who saw a copy of the text at an early stage and made some valuable suggestions.

² On the question whether these texts were part of a codex or of an opisthograph roll see introduction to 523, p. 153.

³ Schnabel thinks that Bk. VIII originally gave the degrees of longitude and latitude, and that the *Κανών* is an 'Auszug aus

Recently the authenticity and independence of the Κανών have been convincingly defended by J. Fischer who points out (pp. 91 sq.) that the measurements given in the tables do not agree completely either with those of Bk. VIII or with those of Bks. II–VII, though they are closer to the latter; and further, that neither the order nor the number of the cities corresponds to that of Bk. VIII. It may be added that the headings attached to the various sections of Bk. VIII are not found in any of the MSS. of the Κανών. It is of course easy to argue, as does Kubitschek (*op. cit.*, pp. 77–9) that every name in the Κανών not found in Bk. VIII is an interpolation, and further, that of two ninth-century MSS., one is preferable to the other because it does not include the two Italian towns Pisa and Praeneste; yet both these towns are recorded, though not in quite the same position, in the third-century papyrus. It is at the least remarkable that a papyrus of this date, earlier than the recensions of Pappus and Theon, should contain the same ‘interpolations’ as the ninth-century Leidensis LXXVIII. Even Honigmann is of opinion that the Κανών included only those cities listed in Bk. VIII, although, as the two lists were published for different purposes, there is no reason why they should correspond. The papyrus may be held to support Fischer’s view: ‘An sich . . . spricht die Vermehrung der Städte und die Positionsänderung derselben nicht gegen ptolemäischen Ursprung’ (p. 101), and his conclusions that ‘der Städtekanon der Astronomischen Handtafeln eine bedeutend vermehrte neue und verbesserte Ausgabe der Tabellen der ausgezeichneten Städte der Geographie zu bieten scheint’ (p. 99), and may be later not only than Bk. VIII, but than Bks. II–VII as well.

The best description of the MSS. of the Κανών is to be found in Schnabel (pp. 221 sq.). Of these the four most important date from the ninth century, and of these four, two, Vaticanus Graecus 1291 (V) and Leidensis LXXVIII (L), have been made accessible by Honigmann (Appendix, pp. 193–231). Of these two V, although it has suffered considerably from displacement of the leaves, is commonly regarded as the more reliable text, and there is reason for thinking (Honigmann, pp. 73, 78) that this MS. represents the recension of Pappus (late third century). L, on the other hand, so Honigmann thinks (p. 75), may stand in the same relation to the work of Theon (late fourth century). L contains a greater number of cities not listed in Bk. VIII than V, and hence Kubitschek is of opinion that L has suffered more from interpolation than V. Schnabel points out (p. 224) that L has 50 per cent. more names than V; among the ‘interpolations’ common to all four MSS., each of which represents a different recension, he mentions Ἀρέλατον which in all probability is also found in the papyrus (l. 16). The text of the papyrus (which can be regarded as prior to the work of both Pappus and Theon) is not identical with the text of either V or L; but its divergencies from the latter are few. It differs from L only in omitting Epidaurus (in Illyria), in including Emona (found in V, not in L) and Aricia (though no measurements are given for this in the papyrus: see note to line 36) and in placing Praeneste and Pisa immediately before Rome instead of immediately after Nicaea. In view of the number of interpolations which have been attributed to L, the degree of agreement between the two texts is remarkable; it must, however, be remembered that only fifty lines of the papyrus are extant. Its disagreements with V (in its present form)

Buch VIII’, and precedes Bk. II–VII of the Geography. It appears that this cannot be established (Fischer, p. 532) until a critical text of the Κανών has been published.

both in the number and order of the cities are more numerous; but it may be noticed that occasionally (e.g. ll. 12 and 32) its measurements agree with those of V against L and the *Geography*.¹ In view of Fischer's theory that the *Κανών* represents a revision by Ptolemy of his earlier work, it is interesting to find that on occasion (e.g. l. 31 Salonae and l. 8 Augustodunum²) it agrees with V and L against G: in other places (e.g. l. 17 Vienna²; here the other MSS. of the *Κανών* may have been influenced by G) it disagrees with all three.

The papyrus is written in a rounded hand, handsome and easy, which is probably not later than the middle of the third century and may well be earlier. Down the edge of each column is drawn a double line in red ink and there are traces of a similar line along the bottom margin. A single vertical line (also in red ink) separates the names of the cities from the longitudes and another the latter from the latitudes, while horizontal lines divide up the cities into sections of two or occasionally three names. The first letter of the names of provinces or countries projects into the narrow margin between the two columns: against Rome has been set a cross with a stroke through the middle of it in red ink and a small circle in black ink—the only city to be honoured with a 'double star'. This format is of some interest, as it seems to have persisted in MSS. of the *Κανών*; at least, in two of the MSS. described by Fischer (pp. 93–5: Vat. Gr. 1291 and Vat. Gr. 208) the tables are surrounded by a double line drawn in red ink and are divided into fifteen sections (in a complete column of the papyrus there would have been more) by cross-lines, also in red ink. The orthography, though not perfect, is better than might be expected of an Egyptian scribe harassed by foreign names, and compares favourably with that of L. This is the first text of Ptolemy to be found in his native Egypt; although another Rylands papyrus (I. 27: see introd.), which is probably based on his work, bears the title *ὑπόμνημα Πτολεμαίου*. This text, as well as 524 and 526, was said to have come from the Fayûm.

The text has been collated with the texts of V and L as given by Honigmann, and with Müller's edition of the *G(eography)*, Bks. II–III.

¹ Bks. II–III (ed. Müller, 1883): henceforth referred to as G.

² As a glance at the text will show, all the names in col. i of the papyrus have been restored from the measurements, and consequently cannot be regarded as certain.

Col. i.

Col. ii.

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

1. In L, 30 names, either of cities, provinces, or countries, appear before Κλουνία; of these, Ταρρακών (spelled Καταρρακων), which comes in l. 3 of the papyrus, is one, so that we can calculate that some 29 lines are missing from col. i of the papyrus, i.e. the column had c. 48 lines. Between Γερμανιας (l. 19), however, and Παννονιας της ανω there are only 15 names in L, which would give us only 45 lines in col. ii. The table would have begun with the British Isles, and it should be noted that five of the names which appear in L are not given in the corresponding list in the *Geography*, Bk. VIII (3, 3-11); hence it is more likely that the papyrus omitted in col. i three of the names which appear in L than that it added in col. ii to the cities listed in L as situated in Germany or the Alpine provinces. The column, then, more probably contained 45 than 48 lines.

3. The parallel of Ταρρακῶν is given in G and L as $\mu' \gamma \theta''$, in V as $\mu \gamma'$. In L it appears immediately before Κλοννία; in V its position is the same as in the papyrus.

4-5. Neither the heading Ἀκουιτανίας nor the form Μεδιολάνιον are listed in L; both appear in V, but in this MS. the cities of the Danube lands are inserted between those of Spain and Gaul. In the general order the papyrus agrees with L. In G and V the parallel of Μεδιολάνιον is given $\mu \varsigma' \Lambda'' \delta''$.

6. $\mu \epsilon' \Lambda''$, so G and L: $\mu \varsigma' \Lambda''$ V.

7. In L the position of the province is given as $\iota \eta' \mu \epsilon' \delta''$; in V, as in the papyrus and elsewhere in L in the case of provinces, the measurements are omitted. Possibly the figures in L are due to dittography.

8. Here the papyrus agrees with L and V; in G the measurements are $\kappa \gamma' \gamma \theta''$ and $\mu \varsigma' \Lambda''$.

10. Or Κελτικής Γαλλίας, as in L.

11. The parallel of Gesoriacum appears as $\nu \gamma' \Lambda''$ in G and L; none is given in V.

12. $\kappa \gamma' \Lambda' \delta'$ in G and L: $\kappa \gamma'$, with the papyrus, V.

14. G and L give the meridian of Marseilles as $\kappa \delta' \Lambda''$, V as $\kappa \delta \gamma$; the $\kappa \alpha' \varsigma''$ of the papyrus is probably due to manuscript corruption. Thirteen of the MSS. of the *Geography* cited by Müller read $\kappa \delta' \varsigma''$ for $\kappa \delta' \Lambda''$.

16. $\kappa \beta' \Lambda'' \delta''$ G, V, and L.

17. $\mu \epsilon'$ G, V, and L. According to Strabo (see Müller's note, p. 242), the measurement would be $\mu \delta' \gamma' \iota' \beta''$, which is more accurate than Ptolemy's measurement in the *Geography*. The papyrus here, as elsewhere, may represent a later correction by Ptolemy.

18. $\mu \delta' \Lambda''$, so G and L: $\mu \epsilon' \Lambda''$ V.

23. Read $\langle \Sigma \rangle \kappa \alpha \rho \beta \alpha \nu \tau \acute{\iota} \alpha$.

24. Emona is listed in V (l. 30), but is omitted in L. After Emona, Καρνονιον (l. Καρνοῦντος) is given in V; this is absent from L as well as from the papyrus.

26. Read $\Sigma \epsilon \langle \rho \rangle \beta \acute{\iota} \tau \iota \omicron \nu$.

28. The meridian of Sirmium is given as $\mu \delta' \Lambda'' \gamma''$ in G and V, as $\mu \delta' \Lambda'' \delta''$ in L (also in a Paris MS. of G).

30. The parallel of Ἰαδερ (Zara) is given as $\mu \gamma' \Lambda'' \delta''$ in G, V, and L.

31. In G the meridian of Salonae appears as $\mu \gamma' \gamma''$; one MS., however, X, agrees with V, L, and the papyrus in reading $\mu \gamma' \Lambda''$. G gives the parallel as $\mu \gamma' \varsigma''$ (V—no doubt through a scribal error—reads $\mu \varsigma' \gamma''$), L as $\mu \delta' \Lambda''$.

32. For Συδρων read Σιδρώνα. The reading of the papyrus here agrees with that of V, which may represent a corrected version of G's reading of the meridian as $\mu \gamma' \Lambda''$: L gives $\mu \gamma' \Lambda''$ and $\mu \gamma' \varsigma''$.

33. So G and V: L reads $\mu \delta' \varsigma''$ and $\mu \beta' \gamma''$.

34. Read $\Sigma \langle \kappa \rangle \alpha \rho \delta \acute{\omega} \nu \alpha \nu \eta \sigma \omicron \varsigma$. Between Σκαρδῶνα and Ἰταλίας L gives Ἐπίδαυρος; probably a later insertion from the *Geography*, since it does not appear in V or in the papyrus or in the select list of cities in *Geography*, Bk. VIII.

35. Ἰταλίας P.

36. It is not easy to explain how the corruption in this line has arisen; the writer has no doubt confused Nicaea (Νίκαια Μασσαλιωτῶν) with Nicotera in S. Italy, and the meridian given is that of Nicaea. The strange thing is that Nicotera does not even appear in *Geography*, Bk. III, let alone in Bk. VIII or in the Κανών. More surprising is the addition of Aricia in Latium, which has no connexion either with Nicaea or Nicotera; this town again, though it is listed in *Geography*, Bk. III, does not appear in Bk. VIII or in the Κανών.

Immediately after Nicaea, L places Πείσαι and Πράινεστον (Πτετεστος MS.), in that order; in the papyrus they appear in the reversed order after Aquileia. They are omitted in V. For the different position assigned to them in other MSS. see Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 101. Kubitschek (*Denkschr. Wien. Akad.*, 57 (1915), p. 78), regards it as a proof of the superiority of V that these two towns have not been inserted; but if they are an unauthorized addition to the text of Ptolemy the insertion must have been made very early, as their presence in the papyrus shows.

37. Read Ταρρακίνοι. So V: $\lambda \zeta' \Lambda'' \delta''$ L and G (though one MS., X, reads $\lambda \zeta' \Lambda''$).

47. The position of Rome in the papyrus is that assigned to it in L, except that Praenestum and Pisae appear after Nicaea in L (see note to l. 36). V also places it after Aquileia; but then (perhaps owing to a tear in the MS., see Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 101) goes on to Dacia.

47. Read Βενεουεντός.

48. L reads Κυρριουαλέρια, all in one line. It is more likely that in the papyrus Aleria appeared as a separate line.

523. ASTRONOMICAL TABLE.

Acquired in 1917.

11.3 × 11.7 cm.

Third century.

The identity of this papyrus was discovered by the late Dr. Fotheringham, to whom I am greatly indebted for the substance of the following introduction. The extant text is part of a table of oblique ascensions (the intervals by which any point in the sky rises later than the first point of Aries, i.e. the spring equinoctial point) for each degree of the ecliptic and for each of a series of zones (κλίματα); the present fragment extends from the 12th to the 30th degree of Pisces and gives the ascension in degrees and minutes for the fourth, fifth, and sixth zones—Rhodes (Lat. $36^{\circ} 0'$), Hellespont (Lat. $40^{\circ} 56'$), and Mid Pontus (Lat. $45^{\circ} 1'$). A similar list for every 10° of the ecliptic is given by Ptolemy in the second book of the *Almagest* (ed. Heiberg, vol. i, pp. 134-9) with the heading Κανόνιον τῶν κατὰ δεκαμοιρίαν ἀναφορῶν; and the values for each tenth degree in the papyrus coincide with those given in the *Almagest*. But in the Πρόχειροι Κανόνες of Ptolemy a fuller table, extending to each degree of the ecliptic, was given; and the first question raised by the papyrus (of importance also for the text on the verso, 522) is whether it can claim to give us the true text of the Πρόχειροι Κανόνες. The only published text of these tables, based on a late and none too reliable MS.¹, is that of the Abbé Halma in his *Tables Manuelles de Ptolémée et de Théon*, II. i sqq. (Paris 1823); in the printed text the tables are arranged according to κλίματα, i.e. the oblique ascensions for all twelve signs of the zodiac are given first for κλίμα πρῶτον then for κλίμα δεύτερον and so on. In the papyrus the arrangement is reversed; the oblique ascensions for Pisces alone were clearly given for all seven zones, and we may suppose that this table was preceded by similar tables for the other signs. A further difference is that in Halma's text, side by side with the oblique ascensions (ἀναφοραί), the ὥριαῖοι χρόνοι (the number of equinoctial hours in the longest day) are added in parallel columns for each κλίμα at each sign of the Zodiac. It is quite clear that the papyrus did not contain this table.

This in itself is not conclusive; not only is it possible that the arrangement in Halma's text is substantially the work, not of Ptolemy, but of his fourth-century commentator Theon, but a similar rearrangement may have been made by a scribe (Dr. Fotheringham pointed out to me that the same is true of the MSS. of Jerome's *Chronica*). Of more importance are the differences in the figures; of these Dr. Fotheringham wrote: 'These are not accidental, but systematic, and imply a difference in the methods of interpolation adopted. I notice that the values for each tenth degree accord with those given in the *Almagest*. I presume that neither Ptolemy nor his successors made a separate computation for each degree, but found the values for intermediate degrees by interpolation. In the figures which you quote from Halma (*op. cit.*, p. 48) it is clear that the figures for Pisces 23° , 24° [in the sixth zone, Mid Pontus] respectively, viz. $356^{\circ} 26'$, $356^{\circ} 26'$, are copyists' errors or misprints for $356^{\circ} 25'$, $356^{\circ} 56'$. With these corrections the difference of $5^{\circ} 8'$ given by Ptolemy in the *Almagest* between the values for Pisces 20° and Pisces 30° for Mid Pontus [the sixth

¹ For the MSS. of the Πρόχειροι Κανόνες see Heiberg's *Prolegomena* to Ptolemy's *Opera Astronomica Minora* (Teubner). None of the early MSS. are as yet accessible in printed form.

zone] is divided in Halma's text into eight intervals of $31'$, followed by two intervals of $30'$, the two short intervals occupying the two last places. The exact intervals on the papyrus are not so clear because the last figure is sometimes lost or illegible. Happily the figures are complete for the Hellespont (col. ii of the papyrus) from Pisces 12° to Pisces 30° . For Pisces 10° Ptolemy gives in the *Almagest* for the Hellespont $348^\circ 33'$ and for the differences for the following 10° , $5^\circ 47'$, and for the last ten degrees of Pisces $5^\circ 40'$. This should give a mean interval of $34.7'$ for each degree from 20° to 30° . Work with these two mean intervals and you get exactly the figures of the papyrus in this column. I take it, then, that this is the computer's rule of interpolation.' The rule holds good, without any difficulties for col. iii of the papyrus, the zone of Mid Pontus, but does not work out quite so well for col. i, the zone of Rhodes. To quote Dr. Fotheringham again: 'The computer had $381'$ to divide between Pisces 10° and Pisces 20° . On this rule he should have had nine intervals of $38'$, followed by one of $39'$. But it is clear that one of the first four intervals has been selected for $39'$. Between Pisces 20° and Pisces 30° , Pisces 24° is lost on the papyrus. Of the other eight¹, seven values agree with this rule; but for Pisces 29° the rule gives $\tau\nu\theta \kappa\beta$ while the papyrus gives clearly $\tau\nu\theta \kappa\gamma$.' Here we may suspect an error of the scribe, if not of the scholar.

That the table given by the papyrus is at least based on Ptolemy may legitimately be deduced from its agreement with the *Almagest* in the readings for Pisces 20° and 30° ; but whether the quantities shown on the papyrus are copied from the *Πρόχειροι Κανόνες* or independently interpolated from the *Almagest* is a question that can hardly be answered with the evidence at our disposal. The balance of evidence is, perhaps, against the view that the table, in the shape in which it appears on the papyrus, formed part of the text of the *Πρόχειροι Κανόνες*; against that may be set the fact that the papyrus is early in date, that rearrangement and disorder particularly in late MSS. are by no means unknown, and that the text on the verso of these tables belongs, almost certainly, to the *Πρόχειροι Κανόνες*. It is to be hoped that further evidence will soon be forthcoming from some of the unpublished MSS.

The papyrus is written along the fibres, almost certainly in the same hand which was responsible for the list of *Ἐπίσημοι Πόλεις* on the verso: the writing, however, is less compressed and the figures larger. We may suppose that this table was preceded by similar tables for the other eleven signs of the Zodiac, and was itself the last. In that case, one other column, after col. iii, would be required for the seventh² zone, that of the Borys-thenes, and the same amount of space would suffice, on the verso, for the names of the cities in the first column of the *Ἐπισήμων Πόλεων Κανών*. Hence our fragment might come from the end of a roll; that the writing on the verso begins at what is the end of the recto might suggest that the reader was meant to turn direct from recto to verso. It is, however, possible that the papyrus is not a fragment of an opisthograph roll, but of a leaf of a codex; in favour of this it may be noted that the list of the degrees 1-30 stands immediately

¹ In the copy of the text seen by Dr. Fotheringham, I had read $\tau\nu\epsilon \lambda\zeta$, for Pisces 23° , which would involve a further discrepancy: the reading required by the rule $\tau\nu\epsilon \lambda\eta$ and suggested by Dr. Fotheringham was confirmed by a re-examination of the papyrus.

² The number of *κλίματα* was generally accepted as seven: in Halma's text, an eighth, that of Byzantium, is added: in general see E. Honigmann, *Die Sieben Klimata und die Πόλεις Ἐπίσημοι*, pp. 7 sq.

before col. i, but not before the other two columns, and this although col. i on the papyrus is col. iv of the text, as the measurements for the first three zones must have preceded it; this suggests that the left side of the papyrus was the left side of a page, and the degrees of the ecliptic were repeated on each page. Further the table of oblique ascensions would come to an end after one more column (Pisces being the last of the signs of the Zodiac), and it is possible that this *Κανών* was directly succeeded by the *Ἐπισήμων Πόλεων Κανών*; and the part of that text preserved on the verso of the papyrus is certainly from the beginning of the *Κανών*. Against this view should be set the fact that the writing, though probably in the same hand, differs in size, and that the end of the column of writing comes lower down the page on the verso than on the recto. The form of the recto is similar to that of the verso; columns are separated by double lines in red ink, while divisions within the column are marked by single lines. The sign for zero, $\gamma\text{---}\zeta$, is interesting; Dr. Smyly suggests that the long line is an ornamental expansion of the ν in $\delta = \text{o}\dot{\nu}(\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu)$.¹

After the text and transcription I have added a table showing the measurements in Halma's text for the degrees corresponding to the extant portion of our text; the columns, of course, do not appear in this order in Halma, and I have omitted the *ῥιαῖοι χρόνοι*.

	Col. i.		Col. ii.		Col. iii.
	[κλίμα τέταρτον]		[κλίμα πέμπτον]		[κλίμα έκτον]

	$\iota\beta$		$\tau\mu\theta$ $\mu\beta$		
	$\iota\gamma$		$\tau\nu$ $\iota\zeta$		
	$\iota\delta$ $\tau\mu\theta$ $\nu\eta$		$\tau\nu$ $\nu\alpha$		
	$\iota\epsilon$ $\tau\nu$ $\lambda\zeta$		$\tau\nu\alpha$ $\kappa\varsigma$		$\tau[$
5	$\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\nu\alpha$ $\iota\delta$		$\tau\nu\beta$ $\gamma\text{---}\zeta$		$\tau\nu\beta[$
	$\iota\zeta$ $\tau\nu\alpha$ $\nu\beta$		$\tau\nu\beta$ $\lambda\epsilon$		$\tau\nu\gamma[$
	$\iota\eta$ $\tau\nu\beta$ λ		$\tau\nu\gamma$ ι		$\tau\nu[\gamma$
	$\iota\theta$ $\tau\nu\gamma$ η		$\tau\nu\gamma$ $\mu\epsilon$		$\tau\nu[\delta$
	κ $\tau\nu\gamma$ $\mu\varsigma$		$\tau\nu\delta$ κ		$\tau\nu[\delta$
10	$\kappa\alpha$ $\tau\nu\delta$ $\kappa\gamma$		$\tau\nu\delta$ $\nu\delta$		$\tau\nu\epsilon$ $\kappa[$
	$\kappa\beta$ $\tau\nu\epsilon$ $\gamma\text{---}\zeta$		$\tau\nu\epsilon$ $\kappa\eta$		$\tau\nu\epsilon$ $\nu\gamma$ [
	$\kappa\gamma$ $\tau\nu\epsilon$ $\lambda\eta$		$\tau\nu\varsigma$ β		$[\tau] \nu \varsigma$ $\kappa\delta$ [
	$\kappa\delta$ $\tau\nu\varsigma$ $]$		$\tau\nu\varsigma$ $\lambda\varsigma$		$\tau\nu\varsigma$ $\nu[$] . . [
	$\kappa\epsilon$ $\tau\nu\varsigma$ $\nu\gamma$		$\tau\nu\zeta$ ι		$\tau\nu\zeta$ $\kappa\varsigma[$
15	$\kappa\varsigma$ $\tau\nu\zeta$ λ		$\tau\nu\zeta$ $\mu\delta$		$\tau\nu\zeta$ $\nu[$
	$\kappa\zeta$ $\tau\nu\eta$ ζ		$\tau\nu\eta$ $\iota\eta$		$\tau\nu\eta$ $\kappa\zeta$ [
	$\kappa\eta$ $\tau\nu\eta$ $\mu\epsilon$		$\tau\nu\eta$ $\nu[[\delta]]\beta$		$\tau\nu\eta$ $\nu\eta$ [
	$\kappa\theta$ $\tau\nu\theta$ $\kappa\gamma$		$\tau\nu\theta$ $\kappa\varsigma$		$\tau\nu\theta$ $\kappa\theta$ [
	λ $\tau\xi$ $\gamma\text{---}\zeta$		$\tau\xi$ $\gamma\text{---}\zeta$		$\tau\xi$ $\gamma\text{---}\zeta$ [

¹ Since this was written, the same explanation of this sign has been offered by Mr. F. E. Robbins in P. Mich. III, 151, introduction.

12.		349° 42'	
13.		350° 17'	
14.	349° 58'	350° 51'	
15.	350° 36'	351° 26'	
16.	351° 14'	352° 0'	352° [
17.	351° 52'	352° 35'	353° [
18.	352° 30'	353° 10'	353° [
19.	353° 8'	353° 45'	354° [
20.	353° 46'	354° 20'	354° [
21.	354° 23'	354° 54'	355° [
22.	355° 0'	355° 28'	355° 53'
23.	355° 38'	356° 2'	356° 24'
24.	356° []	356° 36'	356° [
25.	356° 53'	357° 10'	357° 26'
26.	357° 30'	357° 44'	357° [
27.	358° 7'	358° 18'	358° 27'
28.	358° 45'	358° 52'	358° 58'
29.	359° 23'	359° 26'	359° 29'
30.	360° 0'	360° 0'	360° 0'

Κλίμα Τέταρτον

Κλίμα Πέμπτον

Κλίμα Έκτον

ια	τμη δ	τμθ η	τν ι
ιβ	τμη μβ	τμθ μγ	τν μβ
ιγ	τμθ κ	τν ιη	τνα ιδ
ιδ	τμθ νη	τν νγ	τνα μς
ιε	τν λς	τνα κη	τνβ ιζ
ις	τνα ιδ	τνβ κγ	τνβ μη
ιζ	τνα νβ	τνβ λη	τνγ ιθ
ιη	τνβ λ	τνγ ιβ	τνγ ν
ιθ	τνγ η	τνγ μς	τνδ κα
κ	τνγ μς	τνδ κ	τνδ νβ
κα	τνδ κβ	τνδ νδ	τνε κγ
κβ	τνε β	τνε κη	τνε νδ
κγ	τνε μ	τνς β	τνς κς
κδ	τνς ιη	τνς λς	τνς κς
κε	τνς νε	τνζ ι	τνζ κζ
κς	τνζ λβ	τνζ μα	τνζ νη
κζ	τνη θ	τνη ιη	τνη κθ
κη	τνη μς	τνη νβ	τνθ ο
κθ	τνθ κγ	τνθ κς	τνθ λ
λ	τξ ο	τξ ο	τξ ο

Note: The table is given as it stands in Halma (*op. cit.*, pp. 32, 40, 48), without correction of misprints or other errors.

524. ASTRONOMICAL WORK.

Acquired in 1917. ? Fayûm.

 $6 \times 10.3 \text{ cm.}$

Third century.

Fragment of a roll perhaps containing a description of the planets; the columns are separated by vertical lines drawn in red ink and the paragraphs by similar lines drawn horizontally. From the reference to Capricorn in l. 16, Dr. J. G. Smyly suggests that the papyrus gave the positions of the planets on some definite date, for which cf. e.g. Ptolemy, *Almagest* 9, 7 (ed. Heiberg, i, p. 264) and 9, 10 (ib., p. 288). The text is written in a bold, rounded hand, distinctly larger at the beginning of a paragraph than at the end. On the verso, across the fibres, are what may be the ends of two lines, separated by 1.2 cm., in a small cursive hand:] α' ημερ() and] ιτ η.

Col. i.		Col. ii.
	<p>]ελε Α]φροδει]] 5]πρωτην ετυ]γχανεν]οσεν μ]οιρων]ω Διος 10]νω α]ρ[.]φεν]]] . εθαν </p>	<p> 15 Αφ[ροδιτης αστηρ ? Φωσφ[ορ πεμπτ[τυγχαν[μενος ε[20 Αιγοκερ[τερων λ[γωνω ι[τοις αρι[εωαν δυ[σιν ? 25 [Ερμούν αστηρ ? Στ[ιλβων ? ζο[κα[</p>
	<p>2. 1. Ἀφροδίτ.</p>	<p>14. τυγ'χαν P.</p>

1.]ελε: the stroke interpreted as the cross-bar of an ε might be merely a dash or part of a symbol.
3. No horizontal red line separates this line from 1. 2: hence it is unlikely that the gap was filled with a title or a heading, e.g. Διος αστηρ.
9. If, as Διος suggests, this paragraph gave an account of the planet Jupiter, the next probably dealt with Mars.
14. In the gap before this line, equivalent, as is the gap above, to the space of two lines, there was probably a heading or title—perhaps Αρεως αστηρ.

525. MATHEMATICAL TREATISE.

Acquired in 1917.

11.8 × 11.1 cm.

Fourth century.

Top corner of a leaf of a papyrus codex, containing an unknown mathematical work. It is highly probable that a good deal of each line—at least half—has been lost, and the

proportions of the fragment (upper margin 4.5 cm., side margin 5 cm.) suggest that the dimensions of the codex were considerable. The text is written in a small, but broad and rounded hand, not unlike that of the Lysias (489); the ink is reddish brown in colour, while corrections (ll. 13 and 19) have been made in black ink by a cursive hand. There are no accents, symbols (apart from the σ' in l. 17), or punctuation. The writing on the recto has faded badly and even with the help of a mercury vapour lamp is not readily legible. In the absence of other fragments, the nature of the work cannot be decided.

Recto.

]ε[.]δ[.]μηματων [. . . .]
]δ[.] ποτε ον τω ημ[. . . .]
]ενω ορθογωνιω ονκ . εν
] παντα τα γ . . [.]σε[.]θυσ[.] .
 5]εγω απο[. . . .]ημισ[. . .]
]δεξεον του[.] . των[.] ρ[.]ε
]νοντω[. . . .]εισεν . [.]
]ντος [.] πλευρα[. . . .]ν
]λοκνο[.] . [.]ε[.]
 10]ηπ[

Verso.

[.]στ[.]οιεπεφου . α[.] . δ[
 [.]ο[.]της πλευρας του οκ[ταγωνου?
 [.]φαιαι `έικοτων οτι απο[
 [.] δε αποδος τον ελασσ[
 15 [.] α]ποδος τουτο ανα γη[ν
 [.]]εικον[.]νως ουχι [
 [.]]σ' σχεδον γαρ συ[
 [.] . . .]ηται το [α]ντη ακο[λουθον?
 [.]] . δ'έιζ[
 20 [] . [

1. τ]μηματων or τ]μημα των, suggested by Dr. J. G. Smyly, is a possible reading; in that case the preceding δ (the base is too straight for it to be an α, although β is a possibility) might be a numeral.

2. ποτε εν cannot be read, but the letters are so widely spaced that ποτ εν might be read.

ημ[ισφαι|ριω] Smyly (who also suggests απο δε του] ημισ[φαι|ριου] in l. 5).

526. MATHEMATICAL FRAGMENT.

Acquired in 1917. ? Fayûm.

2.5 × 7.5 cm.

Third century.

Fragment of a mathematical or astronomical table, too small for its purpose to be identified. P. Harr. 60 may be a parallel text. Written in a sloping semi-cursive in black ink; as in 522–524 the lines, both vertical and horizontal, are in red ink, although in l. 6 the writer has slipped and the figures are also written in red ink. A peculiarity of the papyrus is that it consists of three layers of papyrus placed on top of one another instead of two, as is usual, with the result that on both sides the fibres run in the same direction. Another fragment of the same text, perhaps joining on the top of 526, survives, but is too rubbed for more than two or three figures to be visible. The verso is blank.

].	[
]	.	[
	].	ε	κδ	
]			
5	].	ι		λ
	].	δ	μζ	ι
	].	β	κε	ω
	]		κς	ω
	]		κζ	ω .
10	].		κη	ω .
].			
	].	δ	η	μη
		κθ		ω

4. These two squares have been left blank, as have those in l. 14.

11. Probably the writer's intention was to leave these squares blank as well, and the stroke reaching up from l. 12 may be no more than a prolongation of the dash above the δ in l. 12. This should indicate a fraction and, as the δ is written partly over the red lines, it may belong to the preceding column; in this case the sign that follows it is more probably the symbol for zero (see above, p. 149) than that for $\frac{2}{5}$.

527. ASTROLOGICAL TREATISE.

Acquired in 1917. Oxyrhynchus.

Frag. (b). 13 × 18.2 cm.

Third century.
PLATE 6.

This text is written on the verso of the Sallust (473), but in the reverse direction, i.e. the lower margin of the Sallust forms the upper margin of the present work. It is

αν και αρκτο[ν	c. 9	]	πιαν και [	c. 13]
καταδυσιν κα[	c. 9	]	ου αχρι τι	c. 13]
νοησον του[	c. 11	]	σης πολεως [. . . ? Βερενικης]		
95 πους και τους [	c. 9	]	105 Ορμον αι[. μεσου]		
δοτε τους αρ[κτικους η μεσημ]			ρανηματ[. Αιγυ]		
βρινους [	c. 13	]	πτου εν η [. προ]		
αλλων εστ[	c. 12	]	θεσμια κα[ι	c. 11]
φης ομοιω[ς	c. 11	]	γραμματα [	c. 12]
100 Αιγυπτον δια[	c. 9	]	110 αγαθου ν[	c. 13]
ανωθεν ορι[α και την Αιθιο]			

55. τουτ' εστιν P. 56 sic: 1. γείνε. 58. εν ü P. 59. 1. ἴδιον. 60. ἵππος P. 61. 1. ἡμῶν.
63. ὕγρα P. 67. 1. μικρὸν. 75. 1. κίνησιν.

ll. 26-44: ' (In the case of younger people) the ascendant position (controls) life and continuance—and this is so since the whole is compounded of opposites—and by alternation in the case of older people it is the points of decline that are decisive. The ascendant points are dominant over things in their beginning, the points of decline over things near their end. Again the same holds good of the point of zenith and the point of nadir. For the point of zenith leads men when they are young to confidence and success whereas the point of nadir leads . . . to ineffectiveness and failure. So much, then, for the cardinal points . . . '

ll. 52-83: ' The nature of this animal is a mystery ; it calculates the period of time, and further this creature is native to Egypt, where alone exists the winged creature which they call the ibis. Then again in damp habitats (are found animals) such as the hippopotamus which exists among us and the crocodile. These are the only animals that live in a damp habitat. Then there are many animals that breed in the Colchian gulf in India which in their nature differ little from one another. But seals are . . . different from the race of fishes. The same argument applies to other creatures ; hence it is essential to know the effects produced by cosmic causes in each country in accordance with the movements of the planets. Similarly there are necessarily differences in human affairs. " Therefore it is thy task ", said he, " O Father of that which (governs) all . . . to instruct us in the . . . theory of . . . and to hand down to . . . thy priests . . . "

19 sqq. The position of this fragment is not certain, but this seems to be the most likely position for it.

26. το ωροσκοπουν, sc. κέντρον. The κέντρα are the four cardinal points or positions in the heavens through which the planets determining human life pass (in general, see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 257 sq.) ; the four are the zenith (μεσουρανοῦν κέντρον or μεσουράνημα), the nadir (ἀντιμεσουρανοῦν or ὑπόγειον κέντρον), and the two intermediate, the ὠροσκοποῦν κέντρον in the ascent and the δύνον or δυτικόν in the descent (for the last see Vettius Valens, 75. 24 (ed. Kroll) κάκιον δὲ γίγνεται ἐὰν ἐπὶ τὸ δυτικὸν ἢ ὑπόγειον γίνηται τὸ σχῆμα ; elsewhere he uses τὸ δύνον κέντρον, e.g. 74. 25 ; 94. 26), cf. P. Mich. III, 149, ix. 12 : κέντρα δὲ λέγεται ὠροσκόποι μεσουράνημα δύσις ὑπὸ γῆν. The plural is used in this text (below, ll. 31, 32) to express the various planets at the point of ascent or decline. For the influence of the ὠροσκοποῦν (-ος) cf. P. Mich. III, 149, ix. 21 ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου τὰ περὶ ζωῆς ζητεῖται.

27. και ταυτα κτλ. This clause, down to το παν, is a parenthesis, the argument being picked up again with και εναλλαξ. For a similar expression of the theory of opposites, introduced into Greek thought by Anaximander (see Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 56), cf. the statement attributed to Pherecydes (Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*,³ ii, p. 203) : ὁ Φερεκῦδης ἔλεγεν εἰς Ἑρωτα μεταβεβλήσθαι τὸν Διὰ μέλλοντα δημιουργεῖν, ὅτι δὴ τὸν κόσμον ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων συνιστὰς εἰς ὁμολογίαν καὶ φιλίαν ἤγαγε.

29. ἐναλλάξ occurs frequently in Vettius Valens.

37. At the end of this line a word is required to denote the position of a planet at the zenith. The *terminus technicus* is μεσουράνημα, but this is too long for the space. Another word also used by Vettius Valens is ὑπέργειος (e.g. 141. 19) which suggests that μ[ετῶρον] or μ[εταρσιον] might be read here.

42. The end of this line may have been left blank at the conclusion of the sentence.

43. τα κυρια κεντρα seems a natural expression for the cardinal points ; τεσσαρων, which might be expected, cannot be read, as it would involve a false break τεσσαρ|ων.

49 sq. These two fragments, which contain on one side the bottom of a column of the Greek, on the other the top of a column of the Latin text, belong to a column not otherwise represented; the relative position of the two texts makes it impossible for them to be placed either in col. i or ii.

51. Beneath both frag. (c) and frag. (d) part of the lower margin survives; but the two pieces do not directly connect, so that the position in the line of frag. (d) is uncertain.

52. The bird described in these lines is clearly the phoenix.

53-55. The wording of this sentence is clumsy and the expression inconsequent; it reads like an abbreviation of a fuller text. While I do not feel any confidence in the restoration given above, it is hard to see what can be suggested except some form of ἀριθμῆν. In the next line the restoration is still more doubtful. Unless τοῦτ ἐστίν is a limiting phrase, 'that is to say, in Egypt', which would leave little space for the sentence so defined, τοῦτ' must refer to ζῶον. τοπικόν is suspect because we should expect there to be five, or even six, letters in the gap. For the sense cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 28 *ceterum aspici aliquando in Aegypto eam volucrem* [i.e. the phoenix] *non ambigitur*.

57. Ἰβίς is always feminine, so that the ον cannot be explained as a case of attraction to a following τον. The writing is careless all through this passage; cf. γεινο (sic) in l. 56 and ιδιαν (probably for ιδιον) in l. 59.

59. ουσία: cf. l. 63. The dictionaries cite no parallel to this use of οὐσία = habitat.

60.] . ορεῖται. The letter before the ο can hardly be anything except a κ, π, or possibly a σ. Some compound of -σπορεῖν would seem to be indicated, but I can find none giving the required sense. Nor can εὐπορεῖται = *are found in abundance*, even if the statement were true.

65. Κολχικὸς κόλπος was the ancient name for the Gulf of Manar at the south-east extremity of India; the town, or mart, of Κόλχοι was known to the Greeks for its pearl fisheries. Apart from this text, there appear to be no references to the place except in the geographers, cf. *RE*, xi. 1, 1070-71.

69. γονη should perhaps be read γονῇ, i.e. *organs*, or *methods*, of *generation* rather than *race*, *tribe*: on the distinction between fishes and seals in this respect cf. Aristotle, *H. A.* (ed. Bekker), ε 2. 540^a 23; ζ 12. 567^a 2.

73. κοσμικῶς. The adverb, rare in other authors, occurs several times in Vettius Valens.

77. The abandonment of exposition for an invocation and the introduction of an interlocutor (εφη, l. 78) is very sudden and does not seem to have been prepared for by anything in the preceding paragraph. The word πατήρ suggests that we meet here the idea that the learner stands to the teacher or adept in the relation of son to father; this idea is common in contemporary religious literature, cf. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Mysterienreligionen*³, p. 40 (who points out that πατήρ was a title in the Isis cult), and Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, pp. 52, 146, 151. But it might suit the context better to refer πατήρ to a god, in which case there are parallels in the *Hermetica* (cf. the index to W. Scott's edition). I am indebted to Prof. Campbell Bonner for this note. It is likely (cf. νοησον in l. 94 and -δοτε in l. 96) that the invocation extended into the next column; very probably it ended at the conclusion of the paragraph in l. 99 with -φης.

85. The position of the Latin text on the recto makes it clear that this line is not the last of the column.

86. Certainly not παραινον[τ

96. Perhaps καὶ μεσημ[]; but the line is long as it is.

528. ASTROLOGICAL WORK.

Acquired in 1917.

4.7 × 12.3 cm.

Second to third century.

PLATE 6.

Right-hand side of a column containing part of 28 lines, rather closely packed, written along the fibres in a small rounded book-hand of the later second or early third century A.D. (cf. Schubart, *Pap. Graec. Berol.* 31). There are no accents or punctuation marks; the verso is blank. If the supplement in l. 13 is correct there were 19 to 20 letters to the line. To judge from the vocabulary, the work was astrological or magical in character.

[]ν τριγ[ω]
 [ν]ω ωρ[ο]
 [σκοπ?]ον δο
 []ι διο
 5 []ων
 []ηλεσε
 []ς η μερις
 []τος ηλιο
 [π]ρωτος παν
 10 [] . ρχει των εξω
 [] . το δε τ[.] . ω διο
 []κος απο του με
 [? σουρανη]ματος εν τοις ε
 [] μερεσιν του κοσ
 15 [μου] . αι και κυριευει
 []ρως εσχατων
 []αι πασης γενε
 [σεως α]πο τουτου διαμε
 []υν παροπτεσας
 20 []των δε . . ινε .
 []εαν μεγε[.] . ατα
 []ερωσιν επι ταλ
 [] . και η τυχη
 [] . τον ωροσ
 25 [κοπον]της αγαθης τυ
 [χης]ς παρην
 [π]ρος των
 []ι αστερων

7. μέρις is found in astrological texts, e.g. in P. Mich. III, 149, iii. 25, in connexion with the moon (cf. σε- in the preceding line); but ε]φημερις would be an equally possible reading here.

10. The first letter in this line looks like a ν, but no verb ending in -νρχω is known; α cannot be read.

18. Perhaps α]πο τουτου διαμε[τρον or διαμε[τρειν.

19. παροπτεσας: presumably for παροπτήσας.

529. TREATISE ON SURGERY.

Acquired in 1920.

15 x 26 cm.

Third century.

PLATE 7.

Part of a leaf of a codex with two columns to a page; the leaf is badly torn and neither column is intact. The codex was of considerable size, and the writing closely packed with 50 lines to the column on the recto and on the verso. The average length of

a line is 6 cm.; the average number of letters twenty. The lower margin is 4 cm. deep, and a page of text measures 21 × 13 cm. The hand, close to that of the Chester Beatty *Gospels and Acts*, is a small, angular and slanting book-hand of the type common in the middle and later third century. There are no accents, lectional signs or punctuation, except the diaeresis; corrections or additions are by the original hand. The surface of the papyrus is badly rubbed in places, thus adding to the difficulty of interpreting an already fragmentary text.

The text appears to contain instructions as to the method of treating an injury to the shoulder—a compound fracture with dislocation and separation of the acromion. Dr. E. T. Withington, to whose assistance I am much indebted, writes: 'It seems to be an account of apparatus required and methods to be used in treating a severe joint injury—a general smash-up of the shoulder-joint being taken as a sample, as Hippocrates does in his treatise on joints in the case of simple dislocation. The language seems very like that of the fragments of Heliodorus (1st/2nd cent. A.D.) quoted in Oribasius, although the largest verbal correspondence I can find is Orib. 49. 30. 18: μετὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτάρκη τάσιν [cf. l. 90].' In another letter Dr. Withington writes that 'the account of the treatment itself is obscure... but I come nearest to certainty in concluding that this text is not to be found in any Greek medical writer extant or in print'. Several new words occur—ἀπεξαρθεῖν, χαιμαφάριον, πρίζην—but there is no certain clue to the authorship of this treatise. The writer refers to himself in the first person (ll. 58, 69) and alludes to another of his works, the τεχνικὸς λόγος (l. 59). To judge from the size of the page and the closeness of the writing, the treatise was probably of considerable extent. There is nothing to prove that recto precedes verso; but it seems probable, as recto column i begins with an account of things required (cf. Hippocrates, περὶ ἄρθρων, 36).

Col. i.		Recto.	
	[. .] τῷδε καὶ ρεῖν γέ[.] . [.]		γὰρ διαθεσεως ἡ ἀναλο
	[.] εἰς πρὸς τὴν τῶν οὔξειδ[ι]		[γος] θ[ε]ραπεία δοκιμασθη
	[ων] ὀρθῇ . σὺν συν δὲ τοῦ[ν]	20	αὐταρκῶς κ[.] . . . τῶν ἐπὶ
	τοῖς ἡτοῖ σ[.] λῆος καὶ ὁ κεφα		γῶ . [.] . . . ἐντ[ε]λαμενο[ι]
5	λικὸς σ[.] . πρὸς ἐνία γὰρ τῶ[ν]		ἡδὲ βα[.] ν[ε]ν περι τῶν
	οστών γ . α . . εἴθ[ε] . ν[ε]ν ἀπ[ο]		ματ . . χ[] c. 14]
	πρίεν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπιτηδεία		(gap of 6 lines.)
	ἐχ[ο]ντος ἐκκοπὴν πρὸς	30	[c. 18]ης
	μειν τα ἐργα οφείλει ταυ		[c. 16]νεμο
10	τα ἐτοιμαζεσθαι πρὸς δὲ		[c. 15]ωνετα
	τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιμελείαν		[c. 15] . ν γὰρ
	θερμία ἐστὼ ἐν ἐτοιμῶ[ν]		[c. 14]ς οτι το
	χαιμαφάριον μ[ε] λ[ι] φ[υ]λλ[ο]ν	35	[c. 14] π[ρ]οτον ε
	οὔξος οἶνος ἐλαίον μελικρα-		[c. 11]ν συνεχῶς ε
15	τῶν παντὰ τοῦτοις ἀναλογα		[c. 11] ἀπεξαρθεῖ
	καὶ ἀναλογίαν τῶν συν . . . ἡ		[.] σπ[α]νίως δὲ εἰς
	μέ[ν]ων καὶ τῆς περι τα γο		[ω τ]ῇ[ν] μασ[χ]αλὴν ἡ δὲ αἰτία
		40	[εσ]τὶν αὕτη ἴο τραυμα αἰε γι

νεται η υπ αυτου `του` οστεου εν
 δοθεν ερεισ[θε]ντος και α
 πογιγνομενου ασκεπον
 τ[.] . χ[.]αν οτινω . .
 45 ξαιεν αιτιου κατα αμ
 φοτερα δε ευλογον εστιν
 την εξω διαφοραν συνεχως
 [.]εσθαι σπανιως δε
 [την ει]ς την μασχαλην τα
 50 γαρ εξω σωματα περιτενη

Col. ii.

(First 13 lines missing.)

. [c. 19]
 χε[c. 18]
 τω . [c. 17]
 τραυμα εν . υ[c. 10]
 55 [.]ι καταλαμβανεσθαι τι
 να τουτων απαγορευσιν
 δει και τινα καταρτ[ισιν]
 και τινα πριζην δεδηλω
 κα εν τω τεχνικω λογω ων
 60 προεγνωσμενων καιρος

ηδη διδαξαι πως οφειλει
 καταρτιζεσθαι τα προς κα
 ταρτισμον επιτηδειως [εχον]
 τα και πως πριζεσθα[ι τα]
 65 προς πρισιν επι των `προς` κα[ταρ]
 τισμον <μη> οικειως ε[χοντων οι]
 μεν αλλοι κατε[.]
 ωσαν τον καμ[νοντα] σχη
 ματιζειν ημεις δε
 70 κεκλιμενο[.]ν' το Αλ[εξαν]
 δριον σχημα εστιν δυ[σαλ]
 γεστατον το δε κεκλ[ιμε]
 νον ασφαλεστερον α[σφα]
 λεστερον δε οτε με[ν υπτι]
 75 ον σχηματιζειν τον [πασ]
 χοντα οτε δε πρηνη υ[πτι]
 ον μεν επι της εξω[τερω]
 μασχαλης [.]η . [.]
 διαφορας πρηνη[η δε]
 80 οπισω και μετα τ[ον καταρ]
 τισμον προς το[.]
 [.] [.]

(Last five lines missing.)

Verso.

Col. i.

(First 14 lines missing.)

[c. 19]ακα
 [c. 20] . .
 85 [c. 14] . κ [. . .]ατε
 [c. 10]τι τραυματα . .
 [. .]ηματων ειρημεναι μαλ
 λον δε νυν ευθετει το κατα
 κρατη[σι]ν και κατατασιν ε
 90 νεργημα μετα δε την αν
 ταρκη τασιν οι δακτυλοι κα
 θιεσθωσαν επι το τραυμα
 και δι αυτων εκ του παρα
 [φυ]σιν τοπου εις το κατα φυ
 95 [σιν] μεταγεσθω το κωλον α
 [. . .]κατα μερη τα προς το α
 [.]α]ντιμεταγομενον

[.]επιτηδειος . . επια
 [.]βιβαζει το τοις
 100 [. . .]τυ[. . .] ευτονωτερα ον
 [. .]ο[. .]αδ[. .]ωμενα ενερ
 [γημ]ατα επι των χωρις τραυ
 [ματω]ν [. . .]η[. .]ντων παρα
 [. . .] . [.]νδε και μαλλον
 105 [.]εις την μασχαλην
 [.]ας κεκρυπτται γαρ ε
 [.]ται αυχενα δια των
 [.] . . [.]αγωγη του
 [.]ου γαρ συναι
 110 [νειν τ]ο[ι]ς οργανικοις χρη
 [.]υ[.]ισ . τωτει . .
 [.]ε[. . .] . [.]λ[.]
 (gap of 3 lines.)
 [c. 17]θον

	Col. ii.		[c. 11] . [.] . θηκοσ
	[. π]ρος της καμπης [.]	140	[c. 15] . [. . . .]
	της [κε]φαλῆς του βρα[χιονο]ς		(Gap of 5 lines.)
	τα[σ]ων ινα γ[αρ] εκ της [επε]		αιρη . [c. 15]
120	ρεισεως βια καταγη θει[. .] . ε		νηταις . [c. 13]
	κον ετερον δε αποπον εκ του		δει επ[. .] . [c. 13]
	ενεργηματος τουτου ανα		τραυμα[c. 14]
	δι . [.]ι[.] το του ακρωμιου απο	150	λημ . `α' . υ[c. 14]
	στημα χρη τοιγαρουν την		παρ . [. . .] . [c. 12]
125	μεν δια των μοχλων ενερ		. εινανα[c. 13]
	γειαν παραπεμπειν τα δε		οτε υπερον [c. 11]
	ειρημενα εργα προς την		σφιγγεται το πρ[ιζομενον]
	του εκπαλου οστεου κατατα	155	οστεον χαλασα[ι]τ[. .] . [. . .]
	γην αιρεισθαι διδαξας πως		μενου τοις δακ[τ]υλ[ο]ις εξελ
130	δει καταρτιζειν τον αυ[τ]ον		κεσθω το μελλο[ν] πριξεσθαι
	συν τραυματι ολισθημ[α]τ[ων] [ε]πο		οστεον ες τα τοτε . . τ . νω
	μενως υποδειξαντα ε . . [.		ανα την εσθητα . [. . .]κ
	[.]α[.] τον της πρισεως τροπον	160	. [.]σ . . ατοιη . . υπ[.]
	. [. .]των προς πρ[ι]σιν επιτη		[. .]εναφεν αρχης εκπρι[σ]
135	[δειως ε]χοντων οστων προ		[μα] μαλλ[ο]ν γεινεσθαι δει δε
	της πρ[ι]σ[ε]ως εξεταζειν δει		αγγιου εν . [.]εινεν[. .]θ . . ετε
	[. .]εχι[.] . [.] . [. .] . [. . .]ο		ταιν[ι]α καθελε[ι]ν ε[. .] `ν δει η τη
	[.] . η[.] . ιολον δια		
	43. 1. ἀσκέπου.	119. ινα P.	153. υπερον P.
			163. 1. ἀγγείου.

TRANSLATION.

5 sqq.: 'For in the case of some bones . . . it is not advisable for (?) a patient undergoing an excision to vomit beforehand. These are the applications which ought to be had in readiness. For the initial treatment let warm preparations be in readiness, . . . balm, vinegar, wine, olive oil, honey mixed with water, everything similar to these . . . and for a (similar) condition of the knees let an equivalent treatment be tried . . .'

38 sqq.: 'but rarely in the case of the armpit. The reason is this: the wound is always caused either by the actual bone being thrust within and becoming (?) detached and unprotected . . . In both cases it is advisable to . . . continuously the outer dislocation, but only occasionally the dislocation within the armpit. For the outer parts are distended . . .'

55 sqq.: 'What then are the means of prevention in these cases, what the method of setting and what of cutting off [the bone], I have set out in the *Practical Treatise*. When this has been learnt it is time to give instruction in the method of setting those bones which allow of being set and in the method of cutting off those that need to be removed, in cases where the conditions are unfavourable for setting. Other authorities (advise) that the patient be disposed in a . . . position, but we prefer the recumbent position. The Alexandrian disposition is the most painful, the recumbent position the safer. It is safer to place the patient at times on his back, at times on his face . . .'

87 sqq.: 'But now the more convenient way to handle (the bone) is by holding it firmly and stretching it. After the automatic extension of the bone let the fingers be lowered to the wound and through them let the limb be moved back from its abnormal position (?) to the normal position . . .'

121 sqq.: 'There is another peculiarity. As a result of this operation the dislocation of the acromion (?) is reduced). Consequently it is necessary both to convey the motion caused by the levers and to select the

aforementioned instruments for the reduction of a dislocated bone. Having given instructions as to the correct manner of setting a dislocated bone with wound . . .'

2. οξειδ[ιων]. The uncertainty of the reading in the next line makes it doubtful whether ων should be placed in 2 or 3.

12. A line, or perhaps another letter, seems to have been made above the superfluous ν at the end of the line.

13. χαιμαφαριον: *Addendum lexicis*. I can find no clue to the meaning of this word, unless it be another new word κεμοράφανος which occurs several times in an unpublished account of the early fourth century in the Rylands collection; this is probably to be connected with ῥάφανος, *radish*, and in the present passage some kind of oil may be meant.

16. Perhaps και should be corrected to κατα.

37. απεξαρθρει: *Addendum lexicis*. A stronger form of ἐξαρθεῖν, *to dislocate*.

43. ἄσκεπος (or -ης) does not appear to be used by the medical writers.

56. απαγορευσις is puzzling. The meaning *exhaustion* does not suit the context: whether *prevention* is legitimate is doubtful. The sense might be *which need prohibition*, i.e. those cases which are not to be dealt with at all.

The whole sentence would be easier could we assume that the writer has mistakenly placed accusatives instead of genitives after δει, i.e. *to understand which of these cases need*, etc.; but the general accuracy of the text does not allow of this.

58. πριζην: *Addendum lexicis*.

59. τεχνικὸς λόγος might be translated either (a) *systematic treatise* (but this would apparently apply equally to the present work); or (b) *practical handbook*. Greek usage would allow of either; perhaps (b) is preferable.

66. The addition of μή seems essential to make sense of the sentence.

70. Αλεξανδριον σχημα: Dr. Withington suggests that this may be similar to the Thessalian straight-backed chair used for dislocations and mentioned in Hippocrates (περὶ ἄρθρων, 7).

87. The letter before ηματων might well be τ: αποστηματων (cf. l. 123) would be the obvious supplement were it not that the traces in l. 18 do not suit απο and it is doubtful in any case if there is room for three letters.

89. ενεργημα does not appear to be used by medical writers, though ἐνέργεια (in a different sense) is.

94. Either σχῆμα should be understood with το κατα φύσιν or else (perhaps more probably) we should read το(ν), sc. τόπον. Dr. Withington has pointed out that the παρὰ φύσιν . . . κατὰ φύσιν contrast is used by Heliodorus, though not quite in the same context, in the chapter of Oribasius (49. 30. 13) already quoted.

123. αποστημα, 'dislocation'. ἀπόσπασμα would be more in accordance with medical usage.

128. ἐκπαλής is the only form given in the new Liddell & Scott: perhaps εκπαλου(ς) should be read, but cf. ασκεπον, l. 43.

131. Crönert has pointed out (*APF*. ii. 476) that the use of participial adverbs such as ἐπομένως is characteristic of the style of Heliodorus.

530. MEDICAL APHORISMS.

Acquired in 1917.

Frag. (a). 6.8 × 13 cm.

Third century.

Three fragments of a codex containing medical aphorisms on a variety of topics. A number of them (see the notes) are already known from the Ἀφορισμοί of Hippocrates, but the order in which they appear, and occasionally the form, is different. Others I have been unable to identify; but it is certain that they are not all Hippocratean. There is no trace of 'Ionic' forms in the language. The text is written continuously, one maxim being

30 μ]ελλει >—— εδ[. . ε]στιν [
]ρ[. . .] . και συμφоро[
] . ι με[τ]α του σωματος [
 αιμορρ]αγιαν εστιν προσδοκ[
 δ]ερμα πε[ρι]σκληρυνει. . [
 35 πυ]ρετωδη [σ]πασμους ε[
 ? ελκε]ος ευσαρκου θ[ε]ρ[ους] ?
 θερ]μης ποιε[ι]τα[ι
]επιχε[
]σιπη[
 40] . [

Frag. (b).

	Recto.		Verso.

	] . ν []ντας α[]υστε[.]α []πο . [] . . . χ [45] . . η [] . . . οφ[. . .]εω[] ι [.]ρ . σκ[]ης α[. .]α[. . .]α . απ[]τουτοις εκ[50] εκ του πλει[σ]τ[]εφερον[. . .] . []ε[.]οις διαρροια ε . [εχο]μενω δι[αρ]ροια επι[γενομενη δια]ρροια συντομ[ω]ς δηλ[55]ων[.]ται π[]υητ[ . . . . .		] . αρ[. . . .]νοντα[]πυρε[. .]εσ[]τοψ . νε . . . τ . τε[]ειν επ[.] . εστιν γ[60]μη εκτ[ο]ς του φ . []παντοτ[.] τουτο το]ις ευσα[ρ]κοις και [εκπυη]τικον >—— ουκ ασφ]αλια[ν] δερμα μ[α]λα[σσει 65 ριγεω]ν σπασ[μων] τετα[νω]ν []εις δε δ[ι]αφερει οσ[τεων επιλωμε]νοις τουτ]ων δε μα[λιστα ψ]υξεως θυ[ησ]κει η ελ[κουται ε]δρε η αιδ[οιω 70 δ]ε [θ]ερμ[ον

Frag. (c).

	Recto.		Verso.

	] . . . α[] [75] . τοι[] [] []ε[] [] []ε[80]τι ει ο δο[] . νο[		]θερχ[]ουδε[]ωντο[85]κπν[] . νο[

69 1. εδρα.

4. The τα ε[written above this line, and continued in ll. 5 and 6 (l. 4 itself is part of the preceding aphorism), appears to be the beginning of *Aph.* v. 7 τὰ ἐπιληπτικὰ ὁκόσοισι πρὸ τῆς ἡβης γίνεται, μετάστασιν ἴσχει· ὁκόσοισι δὲ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτέων γίνεται, τὰ πολλὰ συναποθνήσκει, though in l. 6 the text of the papyrus diverges. Before τα ε[, γίνονται the concluding word of *Aph.* v. 6 cannot be read.

12-13. = *Aph.* v. 9 (the words are in a different order) φθίσιες γίνονται μάλιστα ἡλικίῃσι τῇσιν ἀπὸ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐτέων μέχρι τριήκοντα πέντε.

21-2. = *Aph.* v. 16-17 τὸ θερμὸν βλάπτει ταῦτα πλεονάκεις χρεομένοισι, σαρκῶν ἐκθήλυνσιν . . . λειποθυμίας, ταῦτα οἷσι θάνατος. (17) τὸ δὲ ψυχρὸν, σπασμούς, τετάνους, μελασμούς, ῥίγεια πυρετώδεα.

30. *Aph.* v. 19 also ends with μέλλει; but l. 29 does not suit this context.

34-5. Probably a slightly different form of *Aph.* v. 20 ἔλκεσι τὸ μὲν ψυχρὸν δακνῶδες, δέρμα περισκληρύνει, ὀδύνην ἀνεκπύητον ποιεῖ, μελαίνει ῥίγεια πυρετώδεα, σπασμούς, τετάνους. ὀδύνην cannot be read in the papyrus.

36-7. Perhaps a version of *Aph.* v. 21 ἔστι δὲ ὅκου ἐπὶ τετάνου ἄνευ ἔλκεος νέφ' εὐσάρκω, θέρεος μέσου, ψυχροῦ πολλοῦ κατάχυσιν ἐπαάκλησιν θερμῆς ποιεῖται· θερμὴ δὲ ταῦτα ῥύεται.

53. Cf. e.g. *Aph.* vi. 16 ὑπὸ πλευρίτιδος ἢ περιπλευρόνις ἐχομένῳ διαρροία ἐπιγενομένη, κακόν.

63-70. *Aph.* v. 22 (in the papyrus the paragraphus is misplaced) τὸ θερμὸν ἐκπνητικόν, οὐκ ἐπὶ παντὶ ἔλκει, μέγιστον σημεῖον ἐς ἀσφαλείην, δέρμα μαλάσσει, ἰσχυαίνει, ἀνώδυνον, ῥιγέων, σπασμῶν, τετάνων παρηγορικόν· τῶν δὲ ἐν κεφαλῇ καρηβαρίην λύει· πλεῖστον δὲ διαφέρει ὀστέων κατήγμασι, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖσι ἐψιλωμένοισι, τούτων δὲ μάλιστα, τοῖσιν ἐν κεφαλῇ ἔλκεα ἔχουσι· καὶ ὁκόσα ὑπὸ ψύξιος θνήσκει, ἢ ἐλκοῦται, καὶ ἔρπησιν ἐσθιομένοισιν, ἔδρη, αἰδοίῳ, ὑστέρη, κύστει, τούτοις τὸ θερμὸν φίλιον καὶ κρῖνον, τὸ δὲ ψυχρὸν πολέμιον καὶ κτεῖνον. The last two clauses have changed places in the papyrus.

531. MEDICAL RECEIPTS.

Acquired in 1920.

21.5 × 8.4 cm.

Third to second century B.C.
PLATE 8.

This strip from the upper part of a roll contains on the recto the final words of one column, a second column complete in breadth, and about half of a third column. The lines are remarkably long (cf. Schubart, *Das Buch*², pp. 64-5), and a column of text, excluding the initial words of the paragraphs, measures 12 cm. in breadth. The hand is cramped and angular and, if hardly beautiful, has a decided character of its own; the most notable letters are the ν with its long sweep below the line and the ν with its first hasta reaching considerably lower than the second. In general, it has an archaic appearance, although some letters, e.g. the ω and the α, do not suggest a very early date, and a resemblance to P. Hib. 27 may be noted, although the latter is considerably freer; I should assign it to the end of the third or to the first half of the second century B.C. The same hand, writing rather more carelessly and in a more cursive style, was responsible for two columns of writing on the verso; there is no trace of writing to the left of col. i so that it is not necessary to suppose that the whole of the verso was written on. The first column is so badly rubbed that, apart from the ends of the lines, only a few letters here and there can be recognized (possibly [ρῆ]τινῆς is to be identified in l. 3 and βαλ[σ]αμ[ον] in l. 4); in consequence it has not seemed worth while to give a full transcription of this column, and only the final letters of each line, where the papyrus is less rubbed, have been printed. There is no punctuation; but the receipts are separated from one another by paragraphi, and occasionally a small blank space is left to indicate the beginning of a new sentence.

Verso.

Col. i.	Col. ii.
]τα αρθρα	ει δε μη κρομμυ(α) του
] . . ρτοις ον	[[.] απιου στοματικη(ς)
] . . σ[.]ην	45 κυπηρου κεκαυμενης
]απουσης	σμυρνης
35] . . εξ οτι ιδιον	κροκου
] . . δι οθονιου	σανδαρακης
] . αν παγηι	σττυπηριας σχιστης
]	
] . . . δ	50 [α]λλο μυρτου τραυματικ[ης
40]ειαριμη	χαλκου κεκαυμενου
]ανο[	λιβανωτου
] . . [	[.] κτη . [] . ηρας
.	.
.	.

15. 1. βοηθεί.

11. 10 sq. 'To make a purge, give (the patient) the fruit of the fennel and the outer leaf of samphire, to be taken in wine.

'In case of hysterical suffocation, take dried otters' kidneys, as much as can be held in three fingers, and serve in sweet-smelling wine. This is also helpful in the case of pains in the testicles and is an enema for the womb.

'Item. If, together with choking, coughing supervenes, take equal quantities of red arsenic and unfired sulphur, also four or five almonds; cleanse them and mix well and then (give to the patient) in sweet-smelling wine.

11. 43 sq. 'Alternatively, onions . . . spurge, which is good for the mouth, burnt cypress wood, myrrh, saffron, red arsenic, split alum, . . . burnt copper, frankincense . . .'

10. κρηθμον φλοιον: Hippocrates, in *De Morbis Mulierum*, 201, prescribes as follows for hysterical suffocation: φλοιὸν μαράθου καὶ κρήθμον ἐν ὕδατι δοῦναι πιεῖν.

12. There is no instance of the use of otter's kidneys for medical purposes in Greek writers; in medieval writers, however, and also in the London *Pharmacopoeia* for 1680 otters' testicles are recommended as a substitute for *castoreum*.

14. οινωι ευωδει: cf. Hippocrates, *De Morb. Mul.*, 80, also the passage quoted below.

16. This prescription is difficult to construe; probably with βησσηι should be supplied ὁ πάσχων. The mark at the end of the line is puzzling; it may be merely a line-filler, but elsewhere the scribe is not so particular about making his lines of equal length. What is wanted here is a καί, but ☞ can hardly be a symbol for that.

The source of this receipt is clearly to be found in Hippocrates, *op. cit.*, 200 (ed. Littré, viii. 382) ὅταν πνίγεται ὑπὸ ὑστερέων—ὅταν δὲ πνίγωσι καὶ ὁμοῦ βήσσηι, σανδαράκης ὅσον ὀβολὸν καὶ θείου ἀπύρου ἴσον καὶ ἀμύγδαλα πικρὰ καθήραντα ξυμμίσγειν τρία ἢ τέσσαρα, καὶ διδόναι ἐν οἴνῳ εὐώδει.

Red arsenic or realgar (σανδαράκη) was used for fumigation in the case of coughs.

17. The supplement in this line, suggested by Dr. Withington, is very probable, although the space is rather large for only three letters. In the next line we should expect a phrase to correspond with δίδου πιεῖν.

23. For the medical use of boiled must (ἐψημα), cf. Hippocrates, *De Victu*, 2, 52.

25. It is of considerable interest to find this prescription in the list. ἀτοκεῖον is found nowhere else among the papyri, and the only instance of it, from other sources, given by Liddell & Scott is from *SIG*, 985, 20 (Philadelphia). This inscription records the laws of a private temple, the members of which have to swear μὴ φίλτρον, μὴ φθορεῖον, μὴ [ἀτ]οκεῖον, μ[ὴ] ἀρπαγμόν, μ[ὴ] φόνον μήτε αὐτοὺς ἐπιτελεῖν μήτε [ἐτέρῳ συμβου]λεύειν μηδὲ

συνιστορεῖν. But rare as the word is, evidence for the use of contraceptives in Egypt, though not, as far as I know, as early as this, may be found elsewhere; e.g. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* iii. 3 (ed. Potter, p. 521), refers to κύαμοι ἐσθιόμενοι ἀτόκους ἐργάζονται τὰς γυναῖκας (κόκκων in l. 26 presumably refers not to beans, but to the seeds of the pomegranate mentioned in l. 25: cf. Hippocrates, *De Natura Mulierum*, 32) and elsewhere, in *Paedagogus*, ii (ed. Potter, p. 227), he alludes to φθορικὰ φάρμακα: cf. also Hippocrates, *op. cit.* 98. ἀτόκιον, in the sense of a medicine for causing barrenness, is quoted in Liddell & Scott from Hippocrates, *Muliebria*, i. 76, and from Dioscorides, i. 77.

26. [στυπτη]ρια(s): the restoration seems fairly certain in view of l. 49. References to its use in the preparation of pessaries are frequent in Hippocrates, e.g. *De Nat. Mul.* 97.

36. Dr. Withington informs me that the juice of the greater celandine, ὀθόνη (ὀθόνη), was in common use as a cure for coughs. But it is probable that here ὀθόνιον has its common meaning of linen bandage.

43. κρομνα: cf. Hippocrates, *De Morb. Mul.*, 74.

51. χαλκον κεκαυμενον: cf. Galen, xiv, p. 462. It also occurs in P.S.I., x. 1180, 73 and 105.

532. HARPOCRATION, Λέξεις τῶν Δέκα Ῥητόρων.

Acquired in 1917.

10.4 × 9.4 cm.

Second to third century.
PLATE 9.

This fragment of the Λέξεις τῶν Δέκα Ῥητόρων, consisting of the lower part of two columns, is of some interest since our earliest MS. (apart from an epitome of the thirteenth century) is of the fourteenth century, and if with Dindorf (*Harpocratonis Lexicon*, i, p. xxi) and others we place the *floruit* of Harpocraton near the end of the second century A.D., it follows that the papyrus is practically contemporary. Not only does the papyrus support the accepted reading of a fragment of Theopompus Comicus, but it supplies two new readings in the text of Harpocraton himself (ll. 7 and 18), one of which had already been conjectured by Sauppe, and both of which may be accepted; further, in the gloss on Κεβρῆνα, the papyrus clearly quoted the actual words of Ephorus which are not given in our MSS. and are not elsewhere extant. The text, written along the fibres, is in a heavy and slightly irregular book-hand of the later second or third century; κ and β are both larger than the average and reach below the line, while ω has a slightly backward slope. At the bottom of col. ii, probably in a second hand, is a sign resembling a *diple* with a stroke across it. If we can assume that the gap between col. i and col. ii contained the text preserved in our MSS., we should have to allow for a loss of about 30 lines, i.e. for a column of about 45 lines and, if the upper margin corresponded to the lower one of 2.5 cm., for a roll c. 26 cm. in height. The verso is blank.

The text has been collated with the edition of Dindorf (Oxford, 1853).

Col. i.

P. 171

[καταργυρωσας ν]ενι[κη]κ[ως]
[τω προτερον ε]τει χορηγων
[παισι και] επεγραψεν επι την

[κατατ]ομην της πετρας
 5 [κ]αταπληξ̃ ο̃ συνεχως πεπλη
 [γ]μενος [Λ]υσιας εν τω προς Αι
 [σ]χινην τ[ο]ν Σωκρατικον και
 [ε]ν τῷ [κ]ατ̃ Α[ν]δ[ο]κιδου ασεβει
 [ας ει γνησ]ιος [ο] λογος Θεοπομ
 10 πος [Τισαμενω] α[λ]λ̃ η̃ μεν Ει
 [λειθυια συγγνωμη]ν̃ εχει υπο
 [των γυ]να[ικων ο]ν[σ]α κατα
 [πληξ̃] τ̃ην̃ τε[χνη]ν̃

Col. ii.

P. 172

· · · · ·
 Κεβρ[ηνα Δημοσθενης εν τω]
 15 κατα Α[ριστοκρατους πολις̃ εστι]
 της Τ[ρωαδος Κεβρην Κυμαι]
 ων [αποικια ως φησιν Εφορος]
 εν̃ ε̃ [
 κε̃ . [
 20 προ[
 πε[
 τους [
 Κεγχ[ρεων Δημοσθενης εν τη]
 [προς Πανταινετον παραγραφη]
 25 [καπειτ̃ επεισε τους οικετας]
 [τους εμους̃ καθεζεσθαι εις τον]
 [Κεγχρεωνα̃ αντι του̃ εις το καθαρι]
 σ[τηριον̃ κτλ.]

11. ὑπο P.

1-4. Part of the gloss on κατατομή.

2. το . . . ετι codd.; corrected to τῷ . . . ἔτει by Valesius.

4. This line (cf. l. 13) is shorter than the rest; the scribe apparently began each gloss on a new line.

7. και: this καὶ—omitted by all the MSS. of Harpocration, an omission followed by Dindorf, and really essential to the sentence—was conjectured by Sauppe in his edition of the fragments of Lysias (*Fragmenta Oratorum Atticorum*, p. 172 in Baier and Sauppe's *Oratores Attici*). This is now confirmed by the reading of the papyrus.

10-13 = Theopompus Comicus, fr. 59 (Kock, i, p. 749). It is interesting to find that the papyrus supports the received reading which has been unnecessarily emended. Lobel has pointed out to me that the meaning of καταπλήξ̃ is not *aures obtundere* (so Kock), but refers to the beating of a statue of Eilythua by women in child-birth.

18. All MSS. of Harpocration have ἐν ἀ, not ἐν ἐ, and hence this statement (for which Harpocration is our sole authority) is placed among the fragments of the first book of the *Histories* of Ephorus (Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.*, ii a, p. 45). But it was in the fifth book of his *Histories* that Ephorus dealt with Asia; hence a statement regarding a city in the Troad would properly find a place there, not in the first book. Consequently the reading of the papyrus may be accepted.

In the subsequent lines the papyrus presumably quoted the relevant passage from Ephorus, which is not given in our MSS. of Harpocration and not known from any other source.

27. This line is rather longer than the average—27 instead of 23 letters. The papyrus may, in ll. 25–6, have read with N τοὺς ἐμοὺς οἰκέτας, which would reduce this line to its normal length.

533. GRAMMATICAL TABLE.

Acquired in 1920.

6.3 × 13.3 cm.

Fourth century.

This and the following grammatical text are of some interest since they are the first among the grammatical papyri to give the conjugation of the verb in full, if we except the school-tablet published by Kenyon in *JHS.* xxix, pp. 30 sq., which gives a paradigm of the optative and participial forms of νικάω in an unusual order, the singular, dual, and plural in each case being grouped separately.¹ Incidentally they may serve to solve a problem in the history of Greek grammar. From the early Byzantine period down to quite modern times the verb invariably, if unsuitably, selected for conjugation was τύπτω, which owed its predominance to its inclusion by Theodosius of Alexandria in his κανόνες εἰσαγωγικοὶ περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων, often placed as a supplement to the *Ars Grammatica* of Dionysius Thrax (text now in Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci*, iv). What is uncertain is the date at which Theodosius wrote; he is known to have been later than Herodian whom he quotes, while the *tabula flexionum* of τύπτω, excerpted from his κανόνες εἰσαγωγικοί is included in the Armenian version of Dionysius Thrax, which was made before the end of the fifth century. The absence of rivals to τύπτω in such tables (Uhlig, in his edition of Dionysius Thrax, p. liii, remarks that τύπτω ‘ab Theodosii temporibus non solum in Graecis scholis regnabat, sed subegit orientem quoque’) suggests that his *Canons* were recognized as a standard work not long after publication; hence it is probable that the two Rylands papyri, in one of which ποιέω, in the other πλέω is conjugated, belong to the pre-Theodosian era. Since neither need be dated later than the end of the fourth century (and 533 may well be earlier), this would agree well with the supposition that the author of the *Canons* is the same as the θαυμάσιος γραμματικὸς Θεοδόσιος mentioned by Synesius in *Ep.* 4 and that he flourished at the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century (see Uhlig, *op. cit.*, p. xlvii, note). It should, however, be noted that in a schoolboy’s exercise of the sixth century at Vienna (published by Wessely in *P. Stud. Pal.* i. 2, p. lviii) the verb of which the pluperfect and the present indicative passive have been written out is γράφω.

Both 533 and 534 agree fairly closely with the *tabula flexionum* of the Theodosian *Canons* (printed as Supplement IV to Uhlig’s edition of Dionysius Thrax). There are some differences; the order of tenses is occasionally different, e.g. in 534 the future optative middle precedes the future optative passive instead of vice versa, and there are some variations in the headings, e.g. χρόνου is generally omitted in the *Canons* (for a more important divergence in 534, see the introduction to that text, p. 173); on the whole, how-

¹ For a list of grammatical papyri up to 1930, see P. Oslo, II, 13, p. 21, which supplements Oldfather’s list; since then an important text has been published by H. M. Hubbell in *Classical Philology*, xxviii (1933), pp. 189 sq.

ever, they agree in both terminology and arrangement. For example, in both papyri the first person of the dual is given in those tenses where the *Canons* give it and omitted where the *Canons* omit it. The only addition to be noted is that of $\epsilon\iota$ to the optative tenses in 534; $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ is employed by the *Canons* also as a $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$.

534 is better evidence for grammatical practice than the present text, although the latter is the earlier of the two and may even have been written in the late third century; 534 probably belonged to a well-written and well-produced codex, whereas 533 is written on papyrus of notably poor quality, and although the text on the recto follows directly upon that on the verso and actually breaks off in the middle of the conjugation of the infinitives, I should doubt whether the sheet ever formed part of a codex. The hand is clumsy and heavy, with traces of cursive influence; the writing is much larger on the recto which has only twenty-three lines as against the twenty-nine of the verso; the lines are irregular and sprawling. It is not quite certain that recto and verso were written by the same scribe, but the presence of the same form of ν , made by one downward stroke at a sharp slant and a second almost at right angles to it, makes it probable that they were. Possibly, then, 533 was a copy made in school; the unnecessary $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ in ll. 37, 41, and 46, the clumsy erasure in l. 35, and the presence of $\pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ out of its place in l. 45 point in the same direction.

That the recto follows directly upon the verso is clear from the general arrangement which agrees with that of the Theodosian *Canons*; consequently only one line has been lost at the top of the papyrus.

I have to thank Miss E. P. Wegener for making a first transcript of this text.

Verso.		20	$\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\nu[\tau\alpha\iota]$
	$[\pi\alpha\theta\eta\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\nu]$		$[\mu]\epsilon\tau\ \omicron\lambda\iota\gamma\omicron\nu\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu[\tau\omicron\varsigma]$
	$\pi\omicron[\omicron\iota\eta\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota]$		$[\tau\omicron]\nu\ [\kappa]\alpha\iota\ \text{ΑΤΤΙ}[\kappa]\omicron[\nu]$
	$\pi\omicron[\omicron\iota\eta\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota]$		$[\epsilon\nu]\iota\kappa\alpha$
	$\pi\omicron[\omicron\iota\eta\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota]$		
5	$\delta\upsilon(\iota\kappa\alpha)\ \pi\omicron[\omicron\iota\eta\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\epsilon\theta\omicron\nu]$		$\pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\mu[\alpha\iota]$
	$\pi\omicron[\omicron\iota\eta\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\omicron\nu]$	25	$\pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$
	$\pi\omicron\iota\eta[\theta\eta]\sigma\epsilon[\sigma\theta\omicron\nu]$		$\pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon[\tau\alpha\iota]$
	$\pi\lambda(\eta\theta\upsilon\nu\tau\iota\kappa\alpha)\ \pi\omicron\iota\eta\theta\eta\sigma\omicron[\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha]$		$\delta\upsilon(\iota\kappa\alpha)\ \pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta[\sigma\omicron\mu\epsilon\theta\omicron\nu]$
	$\pi\omicron\iota\eta\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon[\sigma\theta\epsilon]$		$\pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma[\epsilon\sigma\theta\omicron\nu]$
10	$\pi\omicron\iota\eta\theta\eta\sigma[\omicron]\nu\tau\alpha\iota$		$\pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon[\sigma\theta\omicron\nu]$
	$\mu[\epsilon]\sigma\omicron\nu\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\rho(\omicron\nu\omicron\nu)\ \epsilon\nu[\iota\kappa\alpha]$		
	$\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$		Recto.
	$\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$	30	$[\pi\lambda(\eta\theta\upsilon\nu\tau\iota\kappa\alpha)\ \pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha]$
	$\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau[[\epsilon]]\alpha\iota$		$[\pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma]\epsilon[\sigma\theta\epsilon]$
15	$\delta\upsilon(\iota\kappa\alpha)\ \pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\epsilon\theta\omicron\nu$		$[\pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma]\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$
	$\pi\omicron\iota\eta[\sigma]\epsilon\sigma\theta\omicron\nu$		$[\alpha\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\mu\phi\alpha\tau\omicron\nu]\ \epsilon\gamma\kappa\lambda\iota\sigma\epsilon\omega[s]$
	$\pi\omicron\iota\eta[\sigma]\epsilon[\sigma]\theta\omicron\nu$		$[\epsilon\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\eta\tau\iota\kappa\eta\varsigma]\ \delta\iota\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\epsilon[\omega]\varsigma$
	$[\pi\lambda(\eta\theta\upsilon\nu\tau\iota\kappa\alpha)\ \pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha]$	35	$[\chi][\omicron\nu\omicron\nu]\ \epsilon\nu[[\iota\kappa\alpha]]\ \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\ \chi\rho(\omicron\nu\omicron\nu)$
	$\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$		

[ενι]κα
 ποιειν
 [πα]ρακειμενου κ(αι)
 40 [υ]περσυντελικου
 [χ]ρονου ενικα
 πεποι[ηκεναι]
 αοριστ[ου]
 [ποιησαι]

45 [πεποι]ηκεναι
 [μελλο]ντος χρ(ονου) ενικα
 ποιησειν
 [απα]ρ[εμ]φατου εγ
 [κλισε]ως παθητι
 50 [κη δι]αθεσις ενεσ
 [τωτος κ(αι) π]αρατατικο[υ]
 [χρονο]υ ενικα

11. *χρονου* is written $\chi\rho\omega$, thus giving the exact form of the Chi Rho symbol: this need not point to a late date, since in P.S.I. X, 1180 (2nd c. A.D.) it occurs several times as an abbreviation for $\chi\rho\omega$.

22. The future perfect is described by the same heading in the Canons of Theodosius: the term is discussed in the scholia to the Canons of Georgius Choeroboscus (Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci*, iv. 2, p. 207), who remarks *ιστέον ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἴδιον μέλλοντα ποιούσι τὸν μετ' ὀλίγον λεγόμενον, ὅστις καὶ μέλλον ὠρισμένος λέγεται*.

44. The surface of the papyrus has vanished at this point: it is possible that *ποιησαι* was never written at all and that the space between l. 44 and l. 45 was merely a little greater than usual.

534. GRAMMATICAL TABLE.

Acquired in 1920.

12.8 x 10.2 cm.

Fourth century.
 PLATE 9.

See introduction to the preceding text. This leaf from a well-written codex in a small, slanting, and rather square hand of the fourth century (it is akin to that of the fragment of the *Knights* published by Grenfell and Hunt in *Mélanges Nicole*, pp. 212-17, now Bodleian MS. Gr. Class. (f) 72 (P)) is of some bibliographical interest, although owing to the eccentric arrangement of the paradigms it is not easy to determine the exact format. A further difficulty is that the brown metallic ink in several places is blurred and smudged and is not always easily read even with the help of a mercury vapour lamp; but the hand itself is neat and regular. On each side parts of three columns remain, and above one column part of the upper margin; the columns are closely packed, and there can be no question that they belong to a single page; for one thing, the columns on the recto are written across the intermarginal spaces of the verso, so there can have been no fold here. On the verso (which precedes the recto) it is tolerably easy to fill in the gaps at the bottom of the columns; in the case of cols. i and ii, an additional four or five lines would meet the demands of the text (cf. the notes). But it is clear that recto col. i, whatever the order of the paradigms, cannot follow directly upon verso col. iii. In between we must allow for eight lines to account for the perfect subjunctive active, nine for the present subjunctive passive, and six for the perfect subjunctive passive (the participle would only be written out three times, as in verso col. i). This, with the necessary headings, gives us another twenty-six lines, and deducting four lines to complete col. iii we are left with twenty-two lines. This, on the analogy of cols. i and ii, and allowing for a variation between twenty-one and twenty-two lines to the column, is the amount required to fill one other column,

and the arrangement of the columns on the page (the position of those on the recto does not correspond with that of those on the verso) leaves us only one solution, that one column is missing before col. i verso, and that the missing twenty-two lines formed a column preceding col. i recto; in other words, we must reckon with a codex of four columns to the page.

The arrangement of the other columns of the recto presents more serious difficulties. The subjunctive paradigms end in col. i. 70 (on the assumption that the future perfect subjunctive passive was omitted, as the future perfect optative passive almost certainly was—see l. 33, note—although both are to be found in the Theodosian *Canons*) and in col. ii. 73 the paradigm of the passive participles begins. This gives us four lines between the two—the space required for a simple participle paradigm; it is possible that it was taken up with a heading. The arrangement of the participles is so eccentric—first the masculine participles being given in all tenses, then the feminine, followed presumably by the neuter—that it is less difficult to suppose that after giving the masculine present participle active the scribe went straight on to the passive participles, especially in view of the fact that in recto iii the repetition of the masculine in place of the feminine participle is more proof of carelessness. A further difficulty is that at the end of col. ii we should expect to find the paradigm of the future participles, passive and middle, whereas l. 1 of col. iii begins clearly with $\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa[\nu\iota]\alpha$; if the column has only twenty-one or twenty-two lines, only four intervene between the aorist participle middle (masculine) and the perfect participle active (feminine)—a space which would be naturally occupied by the present participle active feminine, which as a rule immediately precedes the perfect participle. It is probably better to assume that the arrangement of the participles was eccentric throughout (the future participle is again omitted at its proper place after l. 95), rather than to argue that the columns must have been longer, since verso cols. i and ii, which follow more closely the recognized order of paradigms, cannot be explained on the basis of a column longer than twenty-one or twenty-two lines.

Very little of the upper margin survives and none of the lower, so that the dimensions of the page cannot be calculated. Those, however, of the text can. A column of twenty-one lines would measure 9.8 cm. in height; four such columns, excluding outer and inner margin, would measure c. 19 cm. in width. Thus we find the surprising phenomenon of a codex the text of which is double as broad as it is long. The margin, of course, may not have been in proportion; but even with large upper and lower margins, the page cannot have been as high as it was broad. For these proportions there is no parallel, as far as I know, in any other codex; Schubart, in *Das Buch*², pp. 130 sqq. and 186, cites many cases where breadth and height are of the same (or nearly the same) dimensions; but none where the breadth is so out of proportion to the height as it is here. (Even with three columns to the page the disproportion would be noticeable.) Further, it is unusual to find a papyrus codex with more than two columns to the page (v. Schubart, *op. cit.*, p. 135); among parchment codices we have the Vaticanus with three and the Sinaiticus with four, but among papyri Schubart quotes no instance of a codex with more than two columns to the page. Such a work as the present one with its necessarily short lines lends itself to this treatment, but even so it is surprising to find four columns. It may be worth noting that as a rule codices with more than one column can be assigned to

the fourth century—the period in which codices whose breadth and height are approximately equal are most common.

Verso.

Col. i.

ειητον ειη[την]
 πεπλευσμε[νοι]
 ειημεν ειητ[ε] ειησαν
 αοριστου
 5 ει πλεν[σθει]ην
 ει πλευσθ[ειης]
 ει πλεν[σθει]ητον
 ει πλε[ν]σθειη
 ει πλευσθειημεν
 10 ει πλευσθει[η]τε
 ει πλευσθειησαν
 μεσου αοριστου
 [ει] πλευσαιμην
 [ε]ι [π]λευσαιο
 15 ει π[λ]ευσαι[τ]ο
 [ει πλε]ν[σαιμ]εθ[ο]ν

Col. ii.

[μεσου μελλοντος]
 [ει πλεν]σοιμ[η]ν
 [ει πλεν]σοιο
 20 ει π[λε]νσοιτο
 ει π[λε]νσοιμεθον
 ει πλενσοισθον
 ει πλ[ευ]σοισθην
 [ε]ι πλ[ευ]σοιμεθα
 25 ει πλε[ν]σ[ο]ισθε

Col. i.

[εαν πλευσθω]
 [εαν πλευσθης]
 [εαν πλευσθη]
 55 [εαν πλεν]σθ[η]τον
 [εαν πλευσ]θ[η]τον
 [εαν πλευσ]θωμεν
 [εαν] πλευσθ[η]τε

ει πλεν[σ]οιντο
 αο[ρ]ισ(του) μελλ(οντος)
 ει πλε[ν]σθ[η]σοιμην
 ει πλε[ν]σθ[η]σοιο
 30 ει πλ[ευ]σθ[η]σοιτο
 ει πλ[ευ]σθ[η]σοιμεθ[ον]
 [ε]ι πλ[ευ]σθ[η]σ[ο]ι[σθ]ον
 [ει πλευσθη]σ[οι]σθ[η]ν

Col. iii.

[εαν πλεω]
 35 [εαν πλεης]
 [εαν πλεη]
 [εαν πλεητον]
 [εαν πλεητον]
 εαν π[λεω]μεν
 40 εαν π[λεη]τε
 εαν π[λεω]σι
 αορ[ι]σ(του)
 εαν [πλευσω]
 [ε]αν π[λευσ]ης
 45 εαν πλ[ευ]ση
 εαν πλ[ευ]σητον
 [ε]α[ν] πλ[ευ]σητον
 εαν π[λευσω]μεν
 εαν π[λευσ]ητε
 50 εαν π[λευσω]σι
 πα[ρ]α(κειμενου)

Recto.

[εαν] πλευσθωσι
 60 [μεσ(ου) α]ορ(ιστου) και μελλ(οντος)
 [εαν π]λευσωμαι
 [εαν] πλευσης
 [εαν] πλευση
 [εα]ν πλευσηται
 65 [ε]αν πλευσωμεθον
 [ε]αν πλ[ευ]σησθον

[ε]αν πλευσθησθον [εα]ν πλευσωμεθα [εα]ν πλευσθησθε 70 [εαν πλε]υσωνται		[πλευσαμ]ενοι	
			Col. iii.
	Col. ii.	90 [πεπλευκν]ια [πεπλευκν]ια	
	[μετ(οχαι)] παθ(ητικαι) [πλ]εομενος	[αορισ(του)] π[λευσασα]	
75 [πλ]εομενω [π]λεομενοι		95 [π]λευσασ[αι] παθ(ητικης) διαθ(εσεως)	
	[π]αρ(ακειμενου) και υπερ(συντελικου) πεπλευσμενος πεπλευσμενω	πλεομενη πλεομεν[α] πλεομεν[αι]	
80 πεπλευσμενοι αοριστου πλευσθεις		100 παρ(ακειμενου) και υπερ(συντελικου) πεπλευσμενο(s)	
	πλευσθεντε πλευσθεντες	πεπλευσμενω πεπλευσμενοι αοριστου	
85 μεσ(ου) αορ(ιστου) [π]λευσαμενος		105 πλευσθαισα πλευσθαισα	
[πλε]υσαμενω		. . . . .

2. As in the *Canons*, the participle is repeated only three times in the perfect.

4 sqq. The scribe has made several mistakes in this paradigm: the third person singular is out of place and the third person dual is omitted altogether.

16. Five more lines would be required to complete the aorist optative middle; it is difficult to see what could intervene between this and the future optative middle with which col. ii begins. The future optative middle precedes the future optative passive in col. ii; the reverse order is found in the *Canons*. Hence the conclusion that the column only had twenty-one lines is hard to escape.

33. The rest of this column would presumably be filled by the remaining three persons of the future optative passive and the heading of the present subjunctive active which begins in col. iii. If the future perfect optative passive were added here (as in the *Canons*) there would be nothing to fill the corresponding space in col. i; if placed out of order in col. i, the same difficulty occurs about col. ii. Consequently it is probable that this rare tense was omitted.

42. Contrary to the practice of the *Canons* and of the text itself elsewhere, the aorist precedes the perfect.

51. For the conclusion of this column and the subsequent column see introduction.

52. The heading of this paradigm must have been the last line of the preceding column.

62. εαν πλευσης: wrongly transferred from the present subjunctive active.

101-3. Here the masculine forms have been written instead of the feminine.

535. GRAMMATICAL FRAGMENT.

Acquired in 1917.

6.5 × 7.5 cm.

Late first/second century.

Written in a fluent cursive hand across the fibres. On the recto, in a very similar hand, is part of two columns of a list of names. Of col. i only a few of the final letters remain; in col. ii the following names can be distinguished: Τανεχθεν[ήσις], Σινθοῶνις, Διοκλής, Κεφάλων, Παποντῶς, Πανεχῶ[τις], Ἀρπαήσις, Ταῦρις, Ὀρο[, Ἀμμώνιος. The grammatical text on the verso, which is rather carelessly written, does not appear to be otherwise known; its subject, apparently, is συναλιφή (coalescence of vowels) in the various dialects. See further *Addenda and Corrigenda*.

· · · · ·
 και λεγονται αιδ . [
 εκφερεσθαι λογον μη πο[τε Πιν]
 δαγικον εστι το σχημα [οιον το]
 θυεται ανδρες το ε και ο ου
 5 δεποτε εις αλφα συν[αλιφεται]
 πως ουν δυναται το ετε[ρον εις]
 το θατερον συναλιφεσ[θαι δια]
 τουτο οτι Δωριεις και [
 θατερον λεγουσι ως ο α[νηρ ?
 10 ἄνηρ ουτως το δε'έ ροθ[

3. δ has been corrected from another letter or else the scribe's pen slipped and made two strokes instead of one along the base. The γ seems to have been written twice, but no other letter can be read. If we may assume an error, Πιν]δαρικον might be read, in which case the opening words of l. 4 might belong to a quotation.

4. The supplements in this and the subsequent lines were for the most part suggested by Lobel. Ἀθηναῖοι (or possibly Ἀττικοί) may have stood in l. 8.

5. l. συναλειφεσθαι. For συναλείφεσθαι = *to coalesce*, of syllables (συναλιφή is more frequently used than the verb), cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 1070 R.

536. LEXICON TO HOMER, *ILIAD XIII*.

Acquired in 1917.

6.6 × 11 cm.

Third century.

Lower part of a leaf of a papyrus codex, written in the small sloping hand common in the third century. There are two narrow columns to each page separated by not more than 1 cm.; each column appears to have covered about 100 lines of the Homeric text and probably consisted of not less than 50 lines. The complete codex may well have contained a glossary to the whole of the *Iliad*. Other examples of this format, which got the maximum amount of writing into the available space, and which may have developed out of the economic necessities of the time, to be found in this volume are 529 and 549. The ink is faint and in parts the text has been rewritten. There are no accents, stops, or other signs.

These 'scholia minora' to Homer, as they are found in the papyri, have been studied by A. Calderini, *Aegyptus* ii. 303 sq., *Commenti 'Minori' al testo di Omero in Documenti Egiziani*. To the list of texts there given (some published for the first time) may be added P. Oslo 12 and P. Lit. Lond. 177. The conclusion to which Calderini comes, that the Egyptian texts stand in the closest relation to the *Scholia Minora sive Didymi*, (D) (the edition used here is that of Aldus, Venice, 1521), the Pa(raphrase) of the Iliad (printed as an appendix to Bekker's *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem*, Leipzig, 1827) and, in a less degree, to the *Lexicon Homericum* of Ap(ollonius Sophistes) (ed. Bekker, Berlin, 1833), is amply confirmed by the present text.

The numbers in brackets refer to the lines of the Homeric text.

		Recto.	
	Col. i.	(219) 15	[α]πειλαι καυχῆ[σεις]
	. . . . .	(224)	[α]κηριον αψυχ[ο]ποιον
(198)	[κ]αρχαροδοντω[ν] εχοντων	(224)	[ο]κνω φοβω
	[. .]νημενους οδον[τας]	(225)	[αν]δύεται αν[αδυετα]ι και φευ`γει'
(199)	[ρ]ωπηια συμφυτ[ι]	(227)	[νων]υμους ανωνυμ[ους]
(200)	[γα]μφηλησι σια[γοσιν]		
5	[η ονυ]ξι ορ[νιθων]		
(204)	[σφαιρη]δον περ[ιστρεφθεντα]		Col. ii.
(210)	[αντ]εβολησε απ[ηνητησε]		. . . . .
	ετι νυν το ηνο[ι]	(317) 20	αιπυ μεγα
(212)	[ιγ]νυην το οπισ[ω του γονατος]	(320)	αιθομενο[ν]
(214) 10	μενοινα προθυ[μος ην]	(320)	δαλον δα[υλον]
(215)	[α]ντιααν μετ[αλαμβανειν]	(322)	εδοι εσθι[οι]
(217)	[II]λευρων και [Καλυδων πολεις]	(322)	Δημητερ[ος ακτην]
	Αιτωλιας [	(323) 25	[χαλκωι] τε ρηκτος
(218)	[τ]ιετο [[δη]] ετιμα[το]	(324)	ρηξ[η]νορα [

		Verso.	
	Col. i.		[.]ος μετα λοφ[ου]
	. . . . .		[. . . . .] . μενου κομο[ι]
	[.]ρει [	(530) 35	[τρυφαλει]α περικ[ε]φ[αλαια]
(415)	[πυλαρταο του] τας πυλας	(530)	[βομβ]ησε εψοφ[ησε]
	[.] ? κλ[ειοντος]	(531)	[αιγυπιος] γυ[ψ]
(416) 30	[πομπον]ον		[. . .]σ[.] . . [
(435)	[θελξας απατη]σας		[. . .]ος τειλ . . [
		(539) 40	[νεου]τατου νεο[τρωτου]
			[. . .]γρωμενου
	Col. ii.	(543)	[εκλινθ]η επεκλι[ετο]
	. . . . .	(544)	[θυμορ]αιστης την [ψυ]
	[. . .]ενας [.]τα . [		[χην δι]αφθειρων

45	[. . .] . ευρον με[	(551)	π[ερ]ισ[τα]δον περι[σ]ταντες]
	[. . .] αιματος	(557) 50	σ[τρωφ]α]το ανεστρ[εφε]το]
(546)	[εκερσ]ε απεκοψε	(559)	η [τευ] η τινος
(549)	π[ετασ]σας εκτειν[ας]	(562)	α[μενη]νωσεν] α[σ]θενη [εποιησε]

1. Cf. τῶν ὀξεῖς ὀχόντων ὀδόντας (Pa).
3. Perhaps συμφυτ[οι θαμνοί]: cf. Pa ἔνθα ῥῶπες (οἱ θάμνοι) εἰσι συνεχεῖς. In the sense of *growing together*, συμφυής would be expected rather than σύμφυτος.
4. So Pa: perhaps θηρων should be added after σια[γοσιν].
9. ἀγκυλὴν ἢ τὸ ὀπισθεν τοῦ γόνατος D; τὸ ὀπίσω μέρος τοῦ γόνατος (*Scholia Townleiana*, ed. F. Maas, Oxford, 1878).
10. Or perhaps προ(ε)θυμειτο, as Pa; ἐνεθυμείτο D.
11. So Pa.
12. Cf. D ἀντὶ τοῦ Πλευρῶνος καὶ Καλυδῶνος, εἰσι δὲ πόλεις Αἰτωλίας.
14. So Pa.
15. Cf. the scholion to the Venetus Marcianus 453 (Dindorf, *Homeri Ilias*, *Scholia*, iv, s.v.): ἀπειλαὶ δὲ αἱ καυχῆσεις.
16. So D, Pa, and Eustathius.
18. So D (without καὶ φεύγει).
19. So Ap and Pa.
20. So D, with φοβερόν added.
22. δαῦλον . κεκαυμένον ξύλον D.
23. So D (ἐσθλεί) and Pa.
- 24-6. Glosses on all these three words are found in D.
28. τοῦ τὰς πύλας ἰσχυρῶς ἐφαρμόζοντος D and Pa.
30. συννοῖδοπορον Pa. This is too long for the available space in the papyrus. [οδηγ]ον or possibly [οδοιπορ]ον might be read.
31. Although a large amount of the text—ll. 415-35—is covered in these three lines, the supplement in this line is probably correct, as in D (which is on the whole considerably fuller than the papyrus) there are only three glosses between that on πνλαρταο and that on θελξας.
- 32-4. It is not clear to what these lines relate. Perhaps a line was interpolated in the text used by the commentator.
- 33-4. Perhaps a gloss on αὐλῶπις (530) or πήληκα (527). In l. 34 [ἀνατετ]αμενου might be read, cf. Ap. s.v. αὐλῶπις.
35. So Pa.
36. So Ap.
37. So Pa.
40. So D and Pa. In the next line τε]τρωμενου cannot be read.
43. ὁ τὴν ψυχὴν διαφθείρων D and Pa.
45. The letter before ευρον resembles a μ rather than a ν, but it is hard to see what the word can be except νεῦρον; the gloss may have been on φλέβα (l. 546).
47. So Pa: ἔτεμε, ἔκειρε D.
48. So Pa.
49. περισταμενοι D and Pa.
50. So Pa and D.
52. So Ap, D, and P.

537. WORD-LIST TO HOMER, *ILIAD* V.

Acquired in 1917. Oxyrhynchus.

9 x 6 cm.

Early fourth century.

Written on both sides of the papyrus in a heavy, upright hand common in documents of the early fourth century A.D. Verso precedes recto, but it seems unlikely that the sheet was part of a codex, as half of the verso has been left blank, and the arrangement of the lines on that side does not correspond to that on the recto. The glosses do not seem to be derived from any single extant collection of scholia on the *Iliad*; for their relation to the scholia in general see introduction to the preceding text. It is not improbable that the present text was a vocabulary designed for school use. For similar lists cf., e.g., P. Ryl. 25 and P. Lit. Lond. 177;¹ as in the latter, the words and the glosses on them are sometimes separated by dots. The text on the verso relates to *Iliad* V 5-11, that on the recto to v. 37-53.

Verso.

.
 [εναλιγκι]ον :: ομοιογ
 [παμφαιν]ησι :: λαμπησι
 [λελουμεν]ος Ωκεανοιο
 [ανατελλω]ν εκ του Ωκεανου
 5 [τοιον] τοιουτον
 [κλονεοντο] :: εταρασσοντο
 [ιρευσ] ιερευσ
 [ηστην] ησαν
 [μαχης ευ ειδ]οτε πασης

Recto.

.
 10 εκλιναν εδιω[ξαν]
 ελε απεκτεινε
 μεταφρενον το μεταξυ τ[ων ωμων]
 αραβησε εψοφησε
 ενηρατο απεκτεινε
 15 θηρης κυνηγιας
 θηρητηρα κυνηγον
 ιοχαιρα [το]ξ[οτ]ις

7. ἱερεὺς P.

3. The scholiasts on this line (cf. Dindorf, *Homeri Ilias, Scholia*, s.v.) usually explain the genitive with λείπει ἡ ἐξ. D explains: νεωστὶ ἀνατέλλων ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ (see Pa also).

6. κλονεοντο: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐταράσσοντο Ap; διεταράσσοντο D and Pa.

¹ A recent example is the text published by B. A. van Groningen in *Mnemosyne*, v (1937), pp. 62 sqq.

8. ηστην: ἦσαν δυικῶς D. It is interesting to find that the dual is glossed with ἦσαν, since the dual forms are given in full in contemporary grammatical papyri, cf. 533, 534 above.

10. To the left of lines 10 and 11 are ink marks which suggest that this part of the papyrus may have been used before and was not thoroughly washed: this may be why these lines are inset.

12. μεταξὺ (ἀνὰ μέσον) τῶν ὥμων Pa.

13. So Pa.

16. So Pa: D adds θηρεντήν.

538. METROLOGICAL TABLE.

Acquired in 1917.

5.4 × 8.5 cm.

Second century.

Written along the fibres in a large and unpractised semi-uncial hand, such as is sometimes found in private letters. The writer was using a faulty pen and the ink has blotted in places. Table of the Roman money system with no variations from the norm, perhaps drawn up by a schoolboy. The verso is blank.

[. . . .]σ[
[. . . .]σηστερτια μ[
[. . . .]α χρυσά ξ α[
[το δε] σηστερτιον ε[χι δηνα]
5 [ρια α]ργυρα σν [ο δε χρυ]
[σου]ς εχι δηναρια αρ
[γυρα] κε το δε αργυρουν
[δηνα]ριον εχι τροπαικα [β]
[το δε] τροπαικον εχι
10 [νουμ]μους δυο ο δε νου[μ]
[μος ε]χι ασταρια δ ωσ[τε]
[εχει]ν το σηστερτιον [

3. 1. ἔχει *et passim*. 8. τροπαῖκα P, as in 1. 9.

V. EXTANT GREEK AUTHORS

539. HOMER, *ILIAD* I.

Acquired in 1917.

Frag. (b). 6.6 × 7 cm.

Late second century B.C.

These fragments of a roll of *Iliad* I formed part of the same piece of cartonnage as the second-century papyrus of Deuteronomy (458); a description of the find and a discussion of the date of the texts, together with a photograph of frag. (e) of the text of Homer will be found in *Two Biblical Papyri*, pp. 11 sq. Frag. (a) of the Homer, the long strip containing the final letters of col. i, was folded round frag. (b) of the Deuteronomy. The text is one of considerable interest, and may definitely be placed in the 'eccentric' class; there are several unrecorded readings, and two lines, although in a fragmentary condition, are preserved, of which there is no trace elsewhere. It is generally accepted¹ that the vulgate text of Homer first appeared in Egypt about the middle of the second century B.C., after which period the eccentric texts tend to disappear and the vulgate remains dominant; hence we might infer on this ground alone that a date for 539 later than that assigned to it here is improbable.

There are no stops or accents; a critical mark has been placed against l. 116. The text has been collated with that of Allen (*Homer's Iliad*, Oxford, 1931).

Frag. (a) + (b).

Col. i.

.
[και τοτε δη θαρσησε και ηνδα μαντις αμ]υμων
[ουτ αρ ο γ ευχωλης επιμεμφεται ουθ εκατ]ομβης
[αλλ ενεκ αρητηρος ον ητιμησ Αγαμε]μνων
95 [ουδ απελυσε θυγατρα και ουκ απεδεξ]ατ αποινα
[τουνεκ αρ αλγε εδωκεν εκηβολος ηδ] ετι δωσει
[ουδ ο γε πριν λοιμοιο βαρειας χειρας αφεξ]ει
[πριν γ απο πατρι φιλωι δομεναι ελικω]πιδα κουρην
[απριατην αναποινον αγειν θ ιερην εκα]τομβην
100 []εθελησι[ν]
[ητοι ο γ ως ειπων κατ αρ εξετο τοισι δ] ανεστη
[ηρως δ Ατρειδης ευρυ κρειων Αγαμε]μνων
αχ[υ]μενος μεν[ε]ος [δε μεγα φρενες αμ]φι μελ[α]ιναι
πιμπλαντ οσσε δε οι π[υ]ρι λαμπετοωντι] εικτη[ν]

¹ Cf. G. M. Bolling, *The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* (Oxford, 1925), p. 7; P. Collart, *Les Papyrus de l'Iliade* (Revue de Philologie, 1932, pp. 315-49, and 1933, pp. 33-61).

- 105 Καλχαντα πρωτισ[τα κακ οσσομενος πρ]οσειπει
 μαντι κ[α]κων ου πω π[οτε μοι το κρηγυ]ον ειπας
 αει τοι φ[ιλ]ον εστι κακ[α φρεσι μαντευεσ]θαι
 [εσθλον δ ου γ]αρ πω ε[ιπας επος ουδ ε]τελεσσας
 και γ[υν εν Δα]ναοισι θ[εοπροπεων αγορε]νεις
 110 ειδ[.] . εδωκε[]

Frag. (c) + (d).

Col. ii.

- ου[εκ εγω κουρης Χρυσηιδος] αγλα αποιν[α]
 ουκ ε[θελον δεξασθαι επει πολυ β]ουλομαι αυτ[ην]
 οικoi [εχειν και γαρ ρα Κλυταιμνησ]τρας προβεβ[ο]υ[λα]
 κουριδιης [αλοχου επει ου εθεν εσ]τι χερειων
 115 ου δεμας ου[δε φυην ουτ αρ φρενας ουτ]ε τι εργ[α]
 αλλα κ[αι ως εθελω δομεναι παλιν ει το γ αμεινον]
 βουλομ ε[γω λαον σων εμμεναι η απολεσθαι]
 αυταρ [εμοι γερας αυτιχ ετοιμασατ οφρα μη οιος]

Frag. (e) + (f).

Col. iii.

-
 [χ]ωομεν[ος ο τ αριστον Αχαιων ουδεν ετεισας]
 245 [ως] φατο Π[ηλειδης ποτι δε σκηπτρον βαλε γαιηι]
 [χρ]υσειοις η[λοισι πεπαρμενον εξετο δ αυτος]
 [Ατ]ρειδης δ ετ[ερωθεν εμνηιε τοισι δε Νεστωρ]
 [ηδ]υεπης ανορ[ουσε λιγυς Πυλιων αγορητης]
 [του] και απο γλ[ωσσης μελιτος γλυκιων ρεεν αυδη]
 250 [τω]ι δ η[δη δυο μεν γενεαι μεροπων ανθρωπων]
 [εφ]θ[ιαθ οι οι προσθεν αμα τραφεν ηδ εγενοντο]
 [εν Πυλωι ηγαθεηι μετα δε] τριτ[ατοισιν ανασσεν]
 [ο σφιν ευφρονεων] αγορησατο και [μετεειπεν]
 [ω ποποι ημεγα πε]νθος Αχαιαδα γ[αιαν ικανει]
 255 [η κεν γηθησαι Πρι]αμος Πριαμοιο [τε παιδες]
 [αλλοι τε Τρωες μ]εγα κεν κεχα[ροιατο θυμωι]
 [ει σφωιν ταδε παν]τα πυθοιατ[ο μαρναμενοιιν]
 [οι περι μεν Δαναω]ν βουληι περι [δ εστε μαχεςθαι]
 [αλλα πιθεσθ αμ]φω [δ]ε νεωτε[ρω εστον εμειο]
 260 [ηδη γαρ ποτ εγω] και αρειοσιν [ηε περ υμιν]
 [ανδρασιν ωμιλησα] και ου πω μ [οι γ αθεριζον]

92. Probably this is the first line of the column, as the papyrus immediately above the final letters of this line is blank; if l. 91 preceded it, some traces should be visible, as it is equal in length to l. 92. If 92 is the first line of the column, there were only nineteen lines to the column.

97. There is nothing to show whether the papyrus in this line had the text given above or that read by Aristarchus: οὐδ' ὃ γε πρὶν Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀπώσει.

100. All the MSS. here read (αἶ substituted for τότε by Zenodotus and the scholia) ἐς Χρύσην· τότε κέν μιν ἱλασσάμενοι πεπείθουμεν, nor is there a trace of a variant in any ancient authority.

106. εἶπας, so Aristarchus and a few MSS.; the majority read εἶπες.

107. All MSS. in this line read αἰεὶ τοι τὰ κάκ' ἐστὶ φίλα φρεσὶ μαντεύεσθαι. Once again there is no trace of the variant preserved by the papyrus; though it may be no more than a reminiscence of l. 541 αἰεὶ τοι φίλον ἐστὶν ἐμεῦ ἀπὸ νόσφιν ἐόντα.

108. ἐσθλὸν δ' οὐτέ (οὐδέ) τί πω MSS.

110. All MSS. read here ὥς δὴ τοῦδ' ἔνεκά σφιν ἐκηβόλος ἄλγεα τεύχει. The line is athetized in some of the scholia, but no substitute or alternative version of it has survived. Instead of]εῖδωκε[,]θλῶκε[might be read.

116. The purpose of the sign against this line is obscure: it may call attention to the use of καὶ ὥς=ὁμως.

258. οἱ περὶ μὲν βουλὴν Δαναῶν, περὶ δ' ἐστὲ μάχεσθαι, so Allen's text, reading βουλήν with Aristarchus, Herodian, and some of the MSS. and scholia; the majority read, with the papyrus, βουλῇ. The transposition of βουλῇ and Δαναῶν is peculiar to the papyrus.

261. ποτε MSS.: πω papyrus.

540. HOMER, *ILIAD II*.

Acquired in 1917.

Frag. (b). 7.5 × 11.2 cm.

First century.

Of this papyrus of *Iliad II* more extensive fragments, ranging from l. 251 to the end, have already been published by H. J. M. Milne as no. 6 in his *Catalogue of Literary Papyri in the British Museum*. These additional fragments, all of which belong to columns in part already published by Milne, are none the less welcome since, besides adding to the text of the papyrus, they include the statement of the number of στίχοι at the conclusion of the poem and also give us, in conjunction with the London fragments, an almost complete text of the central portion of the prose introduction to the *Iliad* which was written by the same scribe at the end of the book. In the computation of the number of verses in frag. (e) the archaic Attic notation is used, which is, according to Ohly's list (*Stichometrische Untersuchungen*, Leipzig, 1928, p. 84), found only in three other papyri, two of Homer and one of Sappho; this is in itself of interest, since Ohly points out (*loc. cit.*) that this system cannot have been used, even in Athens, later than the middle of the first century B.C. and had been obsolete elsewhere for a hundred years before that: consequently our MS. must derive (though not necessarily directly) from a MS. of some antiquity. Further, the figure given is 840—there may be a few letters missing at the end of the line, but the number cannot have been higher than 849—whereas the number of lines in our MSS. is 877; consequently, the text of which this papyrus is a copy contained at least twenty-eight fewer lines than the normal. Enough verses were athetized in antiquity to account for this discrepancy; and the $\bar{\Delta}$ found against l. 419 in one of the London fragments (see Milne, introduction) indicates that nineteen of these lines were omitted in the first half of the book. In the extant text of this papyrus, after l. 419, eleven lines are absent; so that we may infer that the number of verses in 540 was not more than 848 and was probably nearer 840.¹

¹ The stichometry of this text, as known from the London fragments, was dismissed by Collart (*op. cit.*, p. 57) as *fantaisiste*, a judgement which, in view of the new evidence, appears too severe.

The two new fragments of the prose introduction (both of which connect directly with the London fragments) confirm in several cases Milne's conjectures, while ll. 27–35 become for the first time intelligible; where the new fragments necessitate a change in the reading of doubtful letters in the London fragments attention has been called to this in the notes. For the convenience of the reader the complete text of the introduction (in as far as it exists), including the London fragments, is given below; the supplements in ll. 1–27 are by Milne, except where noted, and also those in ll. 35–45. For another account, perhaps a school exercise, of the events preceding the story of the *Iliad* see P. Rain. Lit. I, xviii.

To the description of the MS. given by Milne it is unnecessary to add much. The verso of frag. (g) contains another piece of the document mentioned by Milne, which can now be exactly dated to the seventh year of Domitian (A.D. 88/89) and gives us a *terminus ante quem* for the Homeric text. At the end of the MS., i.e. in the margin of frag. (g), are traces of writing in a coarse cursive hand; these, taken with the similar scrawls on the London fragment (see Milne, p. 20) reveal themselves as Homeric phrases picked out at random—*Ἀγαμέμνων, ἥρως Ἀτρείδης*, etc. The new fragments do not increase our respect either for the intelligence or the orthography of the scribe.

The London fragments were used by Allen for his text of the *Iliad*, with which the new fragments have been collated. A facsimile of part of the London text appeared in *New Palaeographical Society*, ii. 53. In the transcription below those parts of the London papyrus, either of the text or of the introduction, that directly connect with 540 are underlined.

Frag. (a).

Col. vi.

ανστάντες δ ορεοντο κεδασθε[ντες κατ]α νηας
καπνείσαν τε κατά κλεισίας κ[αι δειπν]ον ελοντο·
400 αλλος δ αλλωι ε[ρ]εζε θεων αιε[ιγενε]των
ευχομενος θαν[α]τον τε φυγ[ειν και] μωλον Αρης·
αυταρ ο βουν ιερευσεν αναξ [ανδρ]ων Αγαμεμνων
πιθνα πενταετηρον υπερμε[νει Κ]ρονιωνι·
κικλησκειν δε γεροντας αριστ[ηας] Παναχαιων·
405 Νεστορα μεν πρωτιστα και Ειδο[με]νη ανακτα·
αυταρ επειτ Αιαντε δυω και Τ[υδεο]ς υιον·
εκτο[ν] δ αυτ Οδοσηα Δι μητιν [αταλα]ντον
αυτοματος δε οι ηλθε [β]οην [αγ]αθος Μενελαος
.
399. 1. κλισίας. 405. 1. Ἰδομενῆα. 407. 1. Ὀδυσῆα.

Frag. (b).

Col. viii.

[σ]μερδαλεον κοναβ[ιζε ποδων αυτων τε κα]ι ιππων·
[εσ]ταν δ εν λειμων[ι Σκαμανδριωι ανθεμ]οεντι
[μυ]ριοι οσσα τε φυλλ[α και ανθεα γιγνεται ω]ρη·

- [ηυ]τε μνιων α[δυναων εθνεα πολλα]
 470 [α]ι τ[ε] κατα σταθ[μον ποιμνηιον ηλασ]κουσιν
 [ω]ρηι εν ειαρινεια [οτε τε γλαγος αγγεα δ]ενει·
 [το]σσοι επι Τρωε[σσι καρη κομοωντες Α]χαιοι
 [εν π]εδιωι ισταντ[ο διαρραισαι μεμα]ω[τ]ες·
 [τους δ] ως τ αιπο[λια πλατε αιγων αι]πολοι ανδρες
 475 [ρ]ε[ια] δ[ιακρ]εινωσ[ιν επει κε νομωι μιγεω]σ[ι]ν·
 ως του[ς] η[γε]μονε[ς διεκοσμεον ενθ]α και ενθα
 υσμεινηνδ ιεναι μ[ετα δε γλαυκω]πισ Αθηνη
 ομματ[α] και [κεφ]αλ[ην ικελος Διι τερ]πικεραυνωι

 471. 1. ειαρινη. 475. 1. διακρίνωσιν. 477. 1. υσμήνηνδ'.

Frag. (c).

Col. xiv.

-
 οι δ αρα Νισυρ[ον τ ειχον Κραπαθ]ον τε Κα[σον τε]
 και Κων Ευρυπυλοιο πολιν νη]σους τε Καλυ[δ]νας
 των αυ Φιδιππος τε και Α[ντιφ]ος ηγησασθην
 Θεσσαλου νιε δυω Ηρακλε[ιδα]ο ανακτος·
 680 των δε τριηκοντα γλαφυ[ραι] νεες εστιχο[ω]ντο
 νυν αυ τους οσσοι το Πελασ[γι]κον Αργος εν[αι]ον
 οι τ Αλον οι τ Αλοπην οι τε Τ[ρηχ]ιν ενεμον[το]
 οι τ ειχον Φθε[ι]ην ηδ Αλλαδ[α κ]αλλιγυναικα]
 683 a τον μεν Τληπολεμος δο[υρι]κλυτος η[γεμ]ονευε·
 Μυρμιδονες [δ]ε καλευντο [και] Ελληνες [και] Αχαιοι
 685 των αυ πεντ[η]κοντα νεω[ν η]ν αρχος Αχ[ιλλ]ευσ
 αλλ οι γ ου πολεμοιο δυσηχε[ος ε]μνωνοντο
 688 κειτο γαρ εν νηε[σσι π]οδαρκης] διος Αχιλλ[ευσ]
 κουρης χοο[μενος Βρισηιδος ηυκ]ομοιο

682. Τρηχιν' ενεμοντο for Τρηχίνα νέμοντο: so also the MSS. (with the exception of p²), Strabo and Eustathius. 683^a = 657. This transposition is not found in any other MS. 687. Omitted. Lines 686–94 were athetized by Zenodotus.

Frag. (d).

Col. xix.

-
 Μ[ν]σων δε Χρο[μ]ις ηρχε και [Εν]νομος οιώνιστης
 α[λλ] ουκ οiwονισιν ερρυσατο κηρα μελαιναν
 860 α[λλ] εδαμη υπο χερσι ποδωκεος Αιακιδας {εν}
 εν ποταμωι χρυσον δ Αιλεως εκομισσε δαιφρων
 Φορκυς αυ Φρυγας ηγε και Ασκανιος θεοειδης

B b

τηλ ἐξ Ἀσκανίης μεμασαν δ υσμινι μαχεσθαι
 Μη[ι]σσιν αυ Μεσθλης τε και Αντιφος ηγησασθην
 865 υιε Ταλαιμενεος τωι Γυγαιη τεκε λιμνην
οι [κ]αι Μηιονας ηγον υπο Τμωλωι γεγαωτας
Να[σ]της αυ Καρων ηγησατο βαρβαρυφωνων
οι Μ[ι]λητον εχο[ν] Φθιρων τ ορος ακριτοφυλλον
Μα[ι]ανδρου τε ροας Μυκαλης τ αιπεινα καρηνα
 870 των μεν αρ Αμ[φι]μαχος και Ναστης ηγησασθην
Να[σ]της Αμφιμ[α]χος τε Νομιονος αγλαα [τ]εκνα
ος και χρυσον ε[χ]ων πολεμονδ ιεν ηυτε κηρη
νη[π]ιος ουδε τ[ι] οι τ[ο] γ επηρκεσε λυγρον ολ[εθρ]ον
α[λλ] εδαμη υ[πο] χερσ[ι] ποδωκεος Αιακιδ[αο]
 875 [εν] π[ο]ταμωι οθι περ Τρω[α]ς κεραιζε κ[αι] αλλου[ς]

860. εν: added from 861.
 872. 1. κούρη.

861. In our text this line has changed places with 875.

865. 1. λίμνη.

Frag. (e).

Col. xx.

~ ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ ~
 B
 ~ ΑΡΙΘΜΟΙ ΓΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ[

Frag. (f) and (g)

Col. xxi.

τουτ[ου] τ[ου] πο[λ]ε[μου] προ [τ]ης [Αχιλ]λεω
 s μηνιδ[ος] ταδε [.λ[. . .] καθ Ομη[ρο]ν τις
 θελησ[ας] διηγησασθα[ι] τουτον [το]ν τρ
 οπον την διηγησ[ιν] ποιουμε[ν]ος ου
 5 κ αν αμαρτα[νοι] της αληθειας κατα
 τους αυτους [χρον]ους ησαν επ[ε]ι μ
 εν της Ευρ[υ]ωπ[ης] βασιλεις αλλοι δε
 της Αχαι[ι]ας επιφα[ν]εστατοι ο[ι] Ατρεω
 s παιδες του Πε[λ]ο[π]ο[ι]ς του Ταυταλ
 10 ου του Διος Αγαμεμνων τε και Μεν
 ελαος ουτοι δε τας Τυνδαρεω[s] και Λ
 ηδας θυγατερας εγημεν Αγαμεμ
 νων μεν Κλυταιμυστραν Ελενην
 δε την εκ Διος Μενελαος επι δε της Α
 15 σιας αων περι του Ελλησπο[ν]τον το
 πων καθ(ε)ιστηκει δυναστης Πρια

- μ[ος] Λ[αο]μεδον[τ]ος του Ιλου τ[ο]ν Τρω
ος τ[ο]ν Εριχθονιου [το]ν Δαρ[δανο]ν του Δ[ι]
ος εκ μεν τηδ^ς Δυμαντος θυγατρος
 20 Εκαβης παιδος εγεννησεν γνησιου
ς εννεα και δεκα εγ δε των παλλακι
δων ενα και τριακοντα ουτος του τη
ς Ελενης λαλουμενου καλλους και σ
υνεργον σχων Αφροδιτην επλευσεν
 25 εις Λακεδαιμονα του δε Μενελαου κ
ατ εκεινον τον κα[ι]ρον αποδημησαν
τος εις Κρητην το[ι]ς βασιλαιοις επιξεν
ωθεις αυτου της Ε[λ]ενης καταδεξαμ
ενης κατα την Ελληνικην συνηθειαν
 30 αρπασας δια χρηματων δια περαλογισ
μου πρωτον μεν επλησιασεν αυτην
εν τ[η] ν[η]σσωι τη ποτε μεν α[ν]ονυμ
ωι μ[ε]τα ταυτα δε απ εκεινης ελενης α
γο[ν]ουσης ειτα την φυγυ[ν] ποι[η]σαμ
 35 ε[ν]οι εν] Σιδωνι οδατοτου[. . . .]σονε
[.] . ατηχ[. . .]ησεν [.]ν
[.]] . [.]

Col. xxii.

- ν και πασι τ[οι]ς Ελλησι . . ηνο . πο[. .]
διαγανακ[το]υντες [ε]πι των [αδι]
 40 [κ]ηματων <α> [ε]σχεν αυτους οθε[ν] συν
[ο]μοσαντες μη προτερον εις [οι]κ[ο]
ν ανακαμψαι πριν την Ιλιον [σ]υν
ελειν' ως οι γ αμφιεπον ταφο[ν] Εκ
τορος ηλθε δ Αμαζω[ν] οτρηρ[η] θυγ
 45 ατηρ ευειδης Πενθεσιλ[ε]ια

Frag. (f) and (g)

1. τ[ο]ν πο . . [.] Milne.
 15. l. τῶν.
 20. l. παίδας.
 22. The writer has omitted to mention Paris by name.
 25. According to Proclus' epitome of the *Cypria*, Menelaus only leaves for Crete after the arrival of Paris at Sparta.
 29. Φο[ι]νικην συλ[Milne.
 30.]ντων Milne. l. παραλογισμού.
 δια χρηματων and δια παραλογισμού are presumably alternatives; and by a mistake the writer has incorporated both in his text. At any rate, according to this version, Helen is only in part guilty.
 31. l. αὐτῇ.

32. According to the common version, the union of Helen and Paris took place on the island of Kranæ (*Iliad* iii. 445): according to one story, preserved (apart from this text) only in Strabo (iii. 1, 22), the island in question was one off the coast of Attica which after Helen's visit changed its name from Kranæ to Helene (v. Roscher, *Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, I, 2, 1939).

1. νήσῳ ἀνωρύμῳ.

33. ἀγοουσης for ἀκουουσης is an unusual error, but the sense of the passage is plain and the only alternative would be to read ἀγο[ρευου]σης (which would suit the space better) and assume that the scribe wrote it in error for ἀγορευομένης.

33. ωιλ[Milne.

34. 1. φυγή[ν.

35. The writer of this introduction clearly follows the story found in Proclus' epitome of the *Cypria* and often in later literature, according to which Helen and Paris went to Sidon (and, in some authorities, Egypt as well) before returning to Troy; Herodotus' version (ii. 117) is that they reached Troy in three days from Sparta (cf. Roscher, *op. cit.*).

οδ(υρ)ατο may have been intended here (Skeat): if so, ποι]ησαμε[ν]η should be read in l. 34.

37. Probably the last line of the column: in the Homeric text there are only thirty-five lines to the column.

38. . . . νο . . . [Milne. According to Milne's numeration this is l. 37.

43. With this Milne compares Schol. Townley, *Il.* xxiv. 804 ὥς οἱ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἑκτορος ἦλθε δ' Ἀμαζῶν | Ἄρῃος θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος ἀνδροφόνου, and remarks that both versions are designed to link the *Iliad* with the *Aethiopis*.

541. HOMER, *ILIAD* II.

Acquired in 1917.

11.7 x 26.3 cm.

First century.

Part of two columns of a roll containing *Iliad*, Book II. The writing, along the fibres, is an upright, somewhat formal, and decorative hand, not unlike that of Schubart, *Pal.*, Abb. 75, though not so stylized: σ has a curved top, υ is deep and reaches below the line, the medial stroke of ε is unattached to the rest of the letter and generally connects to the base of the following letter. There is no accentuation and only one certain case of punctuation; the apostrophe and diaeresis are occasionally used. The verso is blank. The text is that of the vulgate and there are few readings of any interest. Collated with Allen, *Homer's Iliad*.

Col. i.

χα

—λις

400 [αλλος δ αλλω ερεζε θεων α]ιειγενεταων
[ευχομενος θανατον τε φυγ]ειν και μωλον Αρῃος
[αυταρ ο βουν ιερειυσεν αναξ ανδ]ρων Αγαμεμνων
[πιονα πενταετηρον υπερμενει] Κρονιωνι
[κικλησκειν δε γεροντ]ας α[ριστ]ηα]s Παναχαιων
405 [Νεστορα μεν πρωτιστ]α και Ι[δομ]ενηα ανακτα
[αυταρ επειτ Αιαντε] δ'υω και Τυδεος υιον
[εκτον δ αυτ Οδυσηα Δ]ι μητιν αταλαντον

- [αυτοματος δε οι ηλ]θε βοην αγαθος Μενελάος
 [ηδεε γαρ κατα θυμον] αδελφεον ως επονειτο
 410 [βουν δε περιστησαντο] και ουλοχυτας ανελοντο
 [τοισιν δ ευχομενο]ς μετεφη κρειων Αγαμεμνων
 [Ζευ κυδιστε μεγα]ς τε κελαινεφες αιθερι ναιων
 [μη πριν επ ηελιον δ]υναι και επι κνεφας ελθειν
 [πριν με κατα πρηνε]ς βαλειν Πριαμοιο μελαθρον
 415 [αιθαλοεν πρησαι δε] πυρος δηϊοιο θυρετρον
 [Εκτορεον δε χιτω]να περι στηθεσσι δαΐξαι
 [χαλκω ρωγαλεον] π[ο]λεις δ αμφ αυτον ετ[αι]ροι
 [πρηnees εν κονιησιν οδα]ξ [λ]αζοιατο γαιαν
 [ως εφαι ουδ αρα πω οι επε]κραιαινε Κρο[νι]ων
 420 [αλλ ο γε δεκτο μεν ιρα πονο]ν δ αμεγαρτον οφ[ε]λλεν
 [αυταρ επει ρ ευξαντο και ουλ]οχυτας ανελον[τ]ο
 [ανερυσαν μεν πρωτα και εσ]φαξαν και εδει[ρα]ν
 [μηρους τ εξεταμον κατα τε] κνιση εκα[λυ]ψαν
 [διπτυχα ποιησαντες επ αυ]των δ ωμοθετησαν
 425 [και τα μεν αρ σχιζησιν αφυ]λλοισιν κατεκαιον
 [σπλαγχνα δ αρ αμπειραντες] υπειρε[χον Ηφ]αιστοιο
 [αυταρ επει κατα μηρ εκαη και] σπλαγ[χνα] πασαντο
 [μιστυλλον τ αρα ταλλα και αμφ] οβελοισιν ε[π]ειραν
 [ωπτησαν τε περιφραδεω]ς ερυσαντο τε παντα
 430 [αυταρ επει παυσαντο πονου] τετυκοντο τε δ[α]ιτα
 [δαινυντ ουδε τι θυμος εδ]εγετο δαιτος ει[σ]ης
 [αυταρ επει ποσιος και εδη]τυος εξ ερον [εν]το
 [τοις αρα μυθων ηρχε Γερη]νιος ιπποτα Νεστ[ω]ρ
 [Ατρειδη κυδιστε αναξ ανδ]ρων Αγαμεμνον
 435 [μηκετι νυν δηθ αυθι λεγω]μεθα μηδ ετι δη[ρ]ον
 [αμβαλλωμεθα εργον ο δη] θεος εγγυαλιξει
 [αλλ αγε κηρυκες μεν Αχαιω]ν χαλκοχιτωνων
 [λαον κηρυσσοντες αγειρον]των κατα νηας
 [ημεις δ αθροοι ωδε κατα] στρατον ευρυν Αχαι[ων]

Col. ii.

- 440 ἴομεν ὄφρα [κε θασσον εγειρομεν οξυν Αρηα]
 ως εφαι· ουδ [απιθησεν αναξ ανδρων Αγαμεμνων]
 αυτικα κηρυ[κεσσι λιγυφθογγοισι κελευσε]
 κηρυσσειν πο[λεμονδε κερη κομοωντας Αχαιους]
 οι μεν εκηρυ[σσουν τοι δ ηγειροντο μαλ ωκα]
 445 οι δ αμφ Ατ[ρειωνα διοτρεφεις βασιληες]
 √θυνον κρο . []
 αιγιδ' εχου[σ εριτιμον αγηρων αθανατην τε]
 της εκατο[ν θυσανοι παγχρυσεοι ηερεθονται]

- παντες ευ[πλεκεες εκατομβοιος δε εκαστος]
 450 συν τη πα[ιφασσουσα διεσσυτο λαον Αχαιων]
 οτρυνουσ [ιεναι εν δε σθενος ωρσεν εκαστω]
 καρδιηι αλ[ληκτον πολεμιζειν ηδε μαχεςθαι]
 τοισι δ αφ[αρ πολεμος γλυκιων γενετ ηε νεεσθαι]
 εν νηυσ[ι γλαφυρησι φιλην ες πατριδα γαιαν]
 455 ηϋτε πυρ α[ιδηλον επιφλεγει ασπετον υλην]
 ουρεος εν [κορυφης εκαθεν δε τε φαινεται αυγη]
 ως των ερχ[ομενων απο χαλκου θεσπεσιοιο]
 αιγλη πα[μφανοωσα δι αιθερος ουρανον ικε]
 των δ [ως τ ορνιθων πετεηνων εθνεα πολλα]
 460 χ[ηνων η γερανων η κυκνων δουλιχοδειρων]
 Ασιω [εν λειμωνι Κανστριου αμφι ρεεθρα]
 ενθα [και ενθα ποτωνται αγαλλομενα πτερυγεσσι]
 κλαγγη[δον προκαθιζοντων σμαραγει δε τε λειμων]
 ως των [εθνεα πολλα νεων απο και κλισιαων]
 465 ες πεδι[ον προχεοντο Σκαμανδριον αυταρ υπο χθων]
 σμερδα[λεον κοναβιζε ποδων αυτων τε και ιππων]
 εσταν [δ εν λειμωνι Σκαμανδριω ανθεμοεντι]
 μυριοι [οσσα τε φυλλα και ανθεα γιγνεται ωρη]
 ηυτε μ[υιαων αδυναων εθνεα πολλα]
 470 αι τε κατ[α σταθμον ποιμνηιον ηλασκουσιν]
 ωρηι ε[ν ειαρινηι οτε τε γλαγος αγγεα δευει]
 τοσσο[ι επι Τρωεσσι κάρη κομοωντες Αχαιοι]

400. The scrawl at the top of this column probably has no relation to the text; it is most likely a memorandum of some kind and χο(ινιξ) α λί(τραι) ε might be read.

415. θυρετρον: θύρετρα codd. The reading of the papyrus is probably influenced by the μελαθρον of the preceding line.

421. ανελοντο: also read (cf. l. 410) by six minuscules, none of which is earlier than the thirteenth century; προβάλοντο codd.

436. εγγυαλιζει: so most MSS.; ἐγγυαλίζει Aristarchus, Apollonius Rhodius, Aristophanes, ST p² and some minuscules. The latter reading is commonly adopted by modern editors.

441. εφαθ: ἔφατ' codd.

446. For this line—θῦνον κρίνοντες, μετὰ δὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη—no variants are recorded, and the reading of the papyrus may merely be due to the omission of the *ω* of κρίνοντες. The mark in the margin probably indicates a corruption of some kind.

542. HOMER, *ILIAD* V.

Acquired in 1917.

9.1 × 10.4 cm.

Third century.

PLATE 9.

Part of a column containing ll. 473–95 of *Iliad* V. The hand, a good book-hand of the best Roman style, is small, firm and regular, and closely packed; the letters are rounded and are all much of the same size; the tail of the *υ* reaches below the line and has a slight

leftwards curve; the central stroke of ω is straight and carried slightly above the line as in P. Ryl. 28. There are no accents or breathings. The text (collated with that of Allen) is the vulgate. The verso is blank.

- [φης πο]ν [ατ]ε[ρ] λαων πολιν εξεμε[ν] ηδ επικουρων
 [οιο]ς συ γαμβροισι κασιγ[ν]ητο[ισι] τ[ε] σοισι
 475 [τω]ν νυν ου τιν εγων ιδειν δυνα[μ] ουδε νοησαι
 [αλ]λα καταπτωσσουσι κυνες ως αμφ[ι] λεοντα
 [ημ]εις δε μαχομεσθ οι περ τ επικουροι [ενειμεν]
 [και γα]ρ εγων επικουρος εων μαλ[α] τ[η]λοθεν ηκω
 [τη]λου γ[α]ρ Λυκιη Ξανθω επι δειν[η]εντ[ι]
 480 [ενθ] αλο[χ]ον τε φιλην ελιπον κα[ι] ν[η]πιον υιον
 [καδ] δε κτηματ[α] πολλ[α] τ[α] τ ελδετα[ι] ος [κ επιδευης]
 [αλλα και ως Λυκι]ους οτρυνω και μεμ[ον] αυτος
 [ανδρι μαχησασ]θαι αταρ ου τι μοι ε[νθ]α[δε] τοιον
 [οιον κ ηε φεροιε]ν Αχαιοι η κεν α[γοιεν]
 485 [τυνη δ εστηκας ατ]αρ ουδ αλλοισι κ[ε]λε[υ]ε[ις]
 [λαοισιν μενεμεν] και αμυν[εμε]ναι ω[ρ]εσσι
 [μη πως ως αψι]σι λινου αλοντε παναγρ[ου]
 [ανδρασι δυσμενε]σσι ελωρ και κυρμ[α] γενησθε
 [οι δε ταχ εκπερσου]σ ευ ναιομενην πολ[ιν] υμην
 490 [σοι δε χρη ταδε πα]ντα μελειν νυκτας τε [και ημαρ]
 [αρχους λισσομενω τη]λε[κ]λιτων τ επικο[υ]ρων
 [νωλεμεως εχεμεν χαλε]πην δ αποθεσ[θαι] ενιπην
 [ως φατο Σαρπηδων δακε] δε φρενας Εκτ[ορι] μυθος
 [αυτικα δ εξ οχεων συν τευ]χεσιν αλτο χα[μα]ζει
 495 [παλλων δ οξεα δουρα κατα στρατον] ωχετ[ο] π[αν]τηι

474. συ P: σὺν codd. The error probably arose from haplography: the scribe intended to write συγ γαμβροισι (so Allen).

475. εγων: the vulgate reading against ἐγὼ of other MSS.

479. l. δινῆεντι.

481. τα ελδετα[ι] Allen. The MSS. mostly read τὰτ', a few τὰδ' or τὰ δ'.

491. l. τηλεκλειτων. The following τ is an error peculiar to this MS.

492. The majority of MSS. read with P χαλεπήν: the rest κρατερήν (so Allen).

543. HOMER, *ILIAD XI*.

Acquired in 1917. Oxyrhynchus.

11 x 21.4 cm.

Third century.

Written across the fibres in a good book-hand of the broad sloping type (cf. e.g. P. Oxy. 1016). On the recto are traces, badly rubbed, of an account in a small cursive hand which may be attributed to the later second century; hence the Homer text, if written later, may

be placed near the turn of the century. The text, with two variations, is that of the vulgate; accentuation is spasmodic, but punctuation fairly regular (for a misplaced point, see l. 556). The reading *σακος μεσον* in l. 565 has been corrected in the margin in a small cursive hand. To the right are traces of a second column; the initial letters of ll. 582-98 remain and a horizontal line has been drawn at the bottom of the column. Each column contained 33 lines; a wide margin is left in between them, and the impression given by the text as a whole is not that of a casually written or school text. Collated with Allen's text.

- [ριμφ εφερον θοον αρμα μετα Τρωας] κ[αι Αχαιους]
 [στειβοντες νεκρας τε και ασπιδ]ας αιματ[ι δ αξων]
 535 [νερθεν απας πεπαλακτο και αντυ]γες αι π[ερι διφρου]
 [ας αρ αφ ιππειων οπλεων ραθαμ]ιγγες εβ[αλλον]
 [αι τ απ επισσωτρων ο δε ιετο δυν]αι ομιλ[ον]
 [ανδρομεον ρηξαι τε μεταλ]μενος· ε[ν δε κυδοιμον]
 [ηκε κακον Δαναοισι μινυνθα δε χ]αζετο δ[ιουρος]
 540 [αυταρ ο των αλλων επεπωλειτο σ]τιχας α[νδρων]
 [εγχει τ αορι τε μεγαλοισι τε χερ]μαδιοι[σιν]
 [Αιαντος δ αλεεινε μαχην Τελα]μωνια[δαο]
 [Zeus δε πατηρ Αιανθ υψιζυγος] εν φ[οβον ωρσε]
 545 [στη δε ταφων οπιθεν δε σακος β]αλλ' [επταβοειον]
 [τρεσσε δε παπτηνας εφ ομιλου θ]ηρι ε[οικως]
 [εντροπαλιζομενος ολιγον γονυ] γου[νος αμειβων]
 [ως δ αιθωνα λεοντα βοων απο] μεσ[σανλοιο]
 [εσσευαντο κυνες τε και ανερες αγρ]οϊω[ται]
 550 [οι τε μιν ουκ ειωσι βοων εκ π]ειαρ ε[λεσθαι]
 [παννυχοι εγρησσοντες ο δε κ]ρειων ερατιζων
 [ιθνει αλλ ου τι πρησσει θαμεες] γαρ ακοντες
 [αντιον αισσουσι θρασειων α]πο χειρων·
 [καιομεναι τε δεται τας τε] τρεῖ εσσυμενος περ.
 555 [ηωθεν δ απονοσφιν εβη τετ]ιηοτι θυμωι·
 [ως Αιας τοτ απο Τρωων τετιη]μενος ητορ.
 [ηιε πολλ αεκων περι γαρ διε ν]ηυσιν Αχαιων.
 [ως δ οτ ονος παρ αρουραν ιων ε]βιησατο παιδας
 [νωθης ωι δη πολλα περι ρο]παλ αμφις εαγη
 560 [κειρει τ εισελθων βαθυ ληιον]· οι δε τε παιδες
 [τυπτουσιν ροπαλοισι βιη δε] τε νηπη' αυτων
 [σπουδηι τ εξηλασσαν επει τ] εκορεσσατο φορβης·
 [ως τοτ επειτ Αιαντα μεγαν] Τελαμωνιον υιον
 [Τρωες υπερθυμοι τηλεκλειτ]οι τ επικουροι
 565 [νυσσοντες ξυστοισι σακος μ]εσον αιεν εποντο *μεσον σακος*
 [Αιας δ αλλοτε μεν μν]ησασκετο θουριδος αλκης

545. βαλλ': this reading has no other authority. The MSS. read either βάλετ' or βάλεν.

550. πειαρ: so a few other MSS., for πῖαρ.

561. νηπη`ι' (sic) : 1. νηπιη.

564. τηλεκλειτ]οί : so other MSS. The reading πολυηγερέες rests on Aristarchus and the scholia.

565. σάκος μ]εσον : this inversion is not found elsewhere.

544. HOMER, *ILIAD XXIV*.

Acquired in 1917.

3.8 × 10.6 cm.

Early second century.

Written along the fibres in an angular, tall hand with a slight backwards slope; ε, ο, and σ are narrow, ν, π, and μ unusually broad. Probably to be assigned to the first half of the second century, cf. Schubart, *Pap. Graec. Berol.* 19 a, id., *Pal.*, Abb. 35 (a document of A.D. 135). The fragment contains part of ll. 169–76; the lower margin measures 5.7 cm. The verso is blank.

.

[στη δε παρα Πριαμον Διο]ς αγγ[ελος ηδε προσηυδα]
 170 [τυτθον φθεγξαμενη] τ[ο]ν δε [τρομος ελλαβε γνια]
 [θαρσει Δαρδανιδη Πρι]αμε φρ[εσι μηδε τι ταρβει]
 [ου μεν γαρ τοι εγω κακ]ον οσσ[ομενη τοδ ικανω]
 [αλλ αγαθα φρονεουσα] Διος δε τ[οι αγγελος ειμι]
 [ος σευ ανευθεν εων με]γα κηδ[εται ηδ ελεαιρει]
 175 [λυσασθαι σ εκελευσεν Ολυ]μπιο[ς Εκτορα διον]
 [δωρα δ Αχιλληι φερεμε]ν τα κε θ[υμος ιηνη]

545. HOMER, *ODYSSEY IX*.

Acquired in 1917.

12.4 × 9 cm.

Third century.

This papyrus was most probably a school text, which may account for its eccentric and sometimes corrupt readings, and for its peculiar form; it consists of the first halves only of ll. 122–50 of *Odyssey IX*. The text is written in two columns divided by a thick line down the centre: another runs down the outside edge of col. ii. A blank space has been left at the bottom of col. ii; hence this extract is probably complete as it stands. The purpose in writing the first halves of the lines is obscure, unless it was a lesson in the use of the caesura; but the quality of the text and of the handwriting (a heavy and clumsy book-hand) makes it fairly safe to assume that it was the work of a schoolboy. The text, in spite of occasional corruptions and obviously spurious variants, is of interest as showing what might happen to a school text; after l. 141, a line from Bk. xiii (104) has been interpolated, and before 130 is a line which does not appear in our MSS., and which I have been unable to trace elsewhere. The orthography is poor and there are no accents or punctuation. The verso is blank.

	ουδ ἀρα γηποινναισι		{αλλ επικελσαντας μει}
	αλλ η γ ασπαρτος και α		θυμος εφορμηση και ε
	ανδρων δηρευει βοσ	140	αυταρ επει κρατος λιμε
125	ου γαρ Κυκλωπεσσι νη		εκ κρηνης καθεης πε
	[ο]υδ ανδρες νηων ενι	141 a	ιρον νυμφων αι νια
	νηας ευσελμους αι		ενθα κατεπληομεν
	[.]ειμεν επ ανθρωπων		νυκτα κατ ορφναιην
	ανδρες επ αλληλους	145	αηρ γαρ περι νευσι πα
129 a	ας ενεκα ξενιης ηκ		ουρανοθεν προνφαινε
130	οι κε σφιν και νησοῦν ευ		ενθ ου τις την νησον ε
	[ο]υ μεν γαρ τι κακη γε φε		οντ ουν κυματα μακρα
	εν μεν γαρ λειμωνες		ισσιδομεν πριν νηας
	[υ]δρηλοι μαλακοι μαλα		κελσασησι δε νευσι κα
	[ε]ν δ αροσις λειη μαλα	150	εκ δε και αυτοι βημεν
135	[ε]ις ωρας αμων επι η		
	[ε]ν δε λιμην ευορμος		
	ουδ ανκυροβολειν		
	αλλ επικελσαντας μει		

122. Corrupt, probably for γεωπονίαισι: MSS. read οὔτ' ἄρα ποίμνησιν.

124. 1. χηρεύει.

125. 1. νέ(ε)s.

128. No variant is noted to the ἄστε' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων of the MSS.; it is difficult to see what the writer of this text had in mind. He may conceivably have written [λ]ειμεν=λιμέν', although elsewhere he both spells and scans the word correctly.

135. 1. ἀμῶεν. επι η (1. ἐπεὶ ἦ) P: ἐπεὶ codd.

137. ανκυροβολειν P: εὐνὰς βαλέειν codd. ἀγκυροβολεῖν, a gloss (or perhaps a desperate effort on the part of a schoolboy who had forgotten the text), is only cited in Liddell and Scott (new ed.) from Hippocrates, περὶ ὀδοντοφυΐης, 18.

139. εφορμηση P: ἐποτρύνη codd.

141. In the MSS. this line runs κρήνη ὑπὸ σπείους· περὶ δ αἵγειροι πεφύασιν; there is no authority for ἐκ κρήνης. In the following word the writer may have intended καθαρης.

141 a = xiii. 104.

142. 1. κατεπλέομεν.

143. νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην codd.

144. 1. νηυσί. After νηυσί all MSS. read βαθεί'.

148. 1. εἰσίδομεν.

149. 1. νηυσί.

546. HOMER, ODYSSEY XXIV.

Acquired in 1917.

22.8 x 12 cm.

Second century.

Written along the fibres in a large clear but clumsy uncial, very probably the work of a schoolboy. The hand, in general appearance closely resembles Schubart, *Pal.*, Abb. 76, of the reign of Augustus; but ξ is formed by three separate and parallel strokes and μ resembles a double λ. Verso blank. Collated with the text of Ludwich.

[κτηματα κειρον]τες και ατιμαζοντες ακοιτιν
 460 [ανδρος αριστη]ος τον δ ουκετι φαντο νεεσθ[αι]
 [και νυν ωδε γε]νοιτο πιθεσθε μοι ως αγορευω
 [μη ιομεν μη] που τις επισπαστον κακον ευρη[ι]
 [ως εφαθ οι δ αρ α]νηιξαν μεγαλω αλαληται
 [ημισεων πλειο]υς τοι τ αθροοι αυτοθι μειναν
 465 [ου γαρ σφιν αδε μυ]θος ενι φρεσιν αλλ Ευπειθει
 [πειθοντ αιψα δ ε]πειτ επι τευχea εσσευοντο
 [αυταρ επει ρ εσσα]ντο περι χροι νωροπα χαλκον
 [αθροοι ηγερεθοντ]ο προ αστεος ευρυχοροιο
 [τοισιν δ Ευπειθη]ς ηγησατο νηπιεηισι
 470 [φη δ ο γε τισεσθ]αι παιδος φονον ουδ αρ εμελλεν
 [αψ απονοστησει]ν αλλ αυτου ποτμον εφεψειν
 [αυταρ Αθηναιη Ζ]ηνα Κρονιωνα προσηνδα

464. τοι τ αθροοι: τοι δ' αθρόοι codd. μειναν, so FPHMU, h s v: μίμνον LW, Eust., wb.

468. The mark at the end of this line may be for punctuation; but blots elsewhere in the text suggest that it is accidental.

471. εφεψειν, so M with most MSS.: ἐφέξειν LW.

547. EURIPIDES, *PHOENISSAE*.

Acquired in 1917. Oxyrhynchus.

7.3 × 10 cm.

Later second century.
PLATE 9.

Part of a column, containing ll. 646–57 of the *Phoenissae*, and belonging to the same roll as P. Oxy. 224 (now P. Lit. Lond. 76) which preserves ll. 1017–43 and 1064–71. For a description of the MS. see P. Lit. Lond. 76; for the reasons why this MS. is now dated somewhat earlier than it was in the introduction to P. Oxy. 224, see introduction to P. Oxy. 661. The text was not of a very high quality: in two places it shares the errors of other MSS. and also supplies an additional two of its own: it has been collated with the Oxford edition of Murray.

νοτίς ε[περχεται γυας]
 Διρκας χ[λοηφορους]
 και βαθυ[σπορους γυας]
 Βρομιον ε[νθα τεκετο]
 650 ματηρ Διο[ς γαμοισι]
 κισσον ὄν [περιστεφης]
 ελικτος ευ[θυς ετι βρεφος]
 χλοηφόρο[ισιν ερνεσιν]
 και κατασκ[ιοισιν ολβισας ενωτισεν]

655 [B]ακχε[ιο]ν χ[ορευμα παρθενοισι Θηβαι]
[αι]σ[ι και γυναιξιν ευιοις]

649 sq. τέκετο μά|τηρ Διὸς κτλ. Murray.

651. κισσον P (*per errorem*): κισσὸς MSS.

652. ελικτος, so all MSS. (ἐ- or ἐ): ἑλικτος Hermann and Murray.

654. και: peculiar to the papyrus and metrically inadmissible.

655. βακχειον, so all MSS.: βάκχιον Murray (following Valckenaer). Θηβαίαισι| Murray.

548. THUCYDIDES II.

Acquired in 1917.

5 × 7 cm.

Third century.

Part of the right-hand side of a leaf of a papyrus codex, containing part of chapters 3 and 4 of the second book of Thucydides. This small fragment belongs to the same codex and is actually part of the same sheet as P. Genève 2 (published by J. Nicole in 1908), as is clear from the photograph of the latter. It consists of the right-hand part of the second column of one page (the verso) and the left-hand side of the first column of the next page (the recto), thus coming in between fragments (a) and (b) of the Geneva text. Nicole supposed that there were three columns, each of 32 lines, to a page; but as no column can have intervened between verso and recto of our text, and as room must be found for some 38 lines between the end of the verso and the beginning of the recto, we must conclude that, instead of each page having three columns with 32 lines each, there were two columns to the page, each of 48, or perhaps 50 lines (for a similar arrangement, cf. 529 above). So the codex, instead of having its pages broader than they were high—a format of which I know no example, except for the grammatical table, 534—was of a more normal type; excluding the margins, the measurements would be *circa* 15 × 26 cm.

The hand is of the sloping type common in the third century (but hardly in the second, as Nicole suggests). The end of a sentence in l. 5 is marked by a high point; the beginning of the parenthesis in l. 18 by a middle point. A paragraphus has been inserted below l. 19 to mark the end of a section; in our editions the break is made after ἀπώλλυντο in l. 21, where the papyrus punctuates. The only reading of interest is the correction ὅπερ for ὅσον in l. 22, which is not elsewhere recorded.

This text has been collated by Mr. J. E. Powell for his new edition of the Oxford text of Thucydides, and is referred to, together with the Geneva fragment, as Π¹²; I am indebted to him for some comments on the text.

Verso.

[ζυγιων ες τας οδους κ]αθιστα
[μενων ινα αντι τειχο]υς ηι· κα[ι]
[ταλλα εξη]ρτυνον η[ι] εκαστο[ν]

[εφαινετο] προς τα παροντα
 5 [ξυμφορο]ν εσεσθαι· επει
 [δε ως εκ] των δυνατων
 [ετοιμα ην] φυλαξαντες ε
 [τι νυκτα κ]αι αυτο το περι
 [ορθρον εχω]ρουν εκ των οικι
 10 [ων επ αυτους ο]πως μη κα
 [τα φως θαρσαλ]εωτεροις ου
 [σι προσφεροιντο και] σφισι[ν]
 [εκ του ισου γιγνωνται] αλλ [ε]ν

Recto.

[ο]ι [δε κατα πυλας ερημους γυ]
 15 να[ικος δουσσης πελεκυν]
 λαθ[οντες και διακοψαντες]
 τον μοκλ[ο]ν [εξηλθον ου]
 πολλοι· αισθ[ησις γαρ ταχει]
 α επεγενετ[ο αλλοι δε αλληι]
 20 της πολεως σ[ποραδες απωλ]
 λυντο· το δ[ε πλειστον και]
 περ
 οσον μαλισ[τα ην ξυνεστραμ]
 μενον εσ[πιπτουσιν ες οι]
 κημα με[γα ο ην του τει]
 25 χους και [αι θυραι ανεωγμε]
 ναι [ετ]ν[χον αυτου οιομε]
 νοι [πυλας τας θυρας του]

6. This line with only 16 letters is unusually short and Powell suggests (though the reading is not otherwise known) that the papyrus may have read *επειδη δε*.

8. The papyrus does not support Ross's correction of *καὶ* to *κατ'*.

16. Whether *και* was omitted (its deletion was suggested by Herwerden) or not cannot be established, as the line may have contained either 19 or 22 letters.

17. 1. *μοκλ[ο]ν*; the confusion between *κ* and *χ* is rare.

22. *οπερ*, to which *οσον* has been corrected, is a new variant and in itself is an equally likely reading.

549. XENOPHON, CYROPAEDIA VII, ii.

Acquired in 1917.

7.3 × 8.8 cm.

Third century.

In 1934, G. Manteuffel described in the *Charisteria Gustavo Przychocki*, pp. 108 sq., some fragments of a papyrus codex of Xenophon acquired in the Fayûm in 1932 and now

preserved in the University of Warsaw, which were later published by him (with a plate) as P. Varsov. 1; that the Rylands fragment belongs to the same codex may be regarded as certain, since not only are the hands of the two MSS. to all appearance identical,¹ but the lines are of nearly the same average length, and the estimated size of the page almost the same (I had reckoned with a page 21.5 cm. in height and 13 cm. in width, while Manteuffel's estimate was 20 × 13.5 cm.; the difference in the calculation of height is explained by the fact that more of the margin survives in the Rylands fragment). The coincidence is of some interest since the Warsaw fragments contain passages from Books i, iv, and v, and 549 from Book vii; hence we can assume that the codex included the entire *Cyropaedia*. This gives some support to the rather doubtful reading of the numerals scrawled in badly faded ink by a second and coarser hand at the head of the columns of 549, since a codex containing the whole of the *Cyropaedia* with 32–35 lines to the page (see Manteuffel, *Charisteria*, p. 111) would consist of about 300 pages, and Book vii would start, on that calculation, near page 225, and the numeration of the pages of the Rylands fragment is 234 and 235. It may be noted that this is a codex of unusual size for the third century (cf. the list of papyrus codices given in C. H. Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 32–3). The hand, as already described by Manteuffel, is of the small sloping type and may be assigned to the third century. Pauses are marked by small *paragraphi* and by points (ll. 11 and 24); an apostrophe may be noticed in l. 22 and a rough breathing in l. 19.

There are not many readings of interest in the portion preserved; but, unlike other papyri of the *Cyropaedia* (see P. Oxy. 2101 introd.), 549 does not give unwavering support to the DF recension, although it is perhaps nearer to this than to any other. Agreements of some importance with the HAG recension may be noticed in ll. 19 and 21 and an hitherto unrecorded reading in l. 15. For collation the Oxford text of Marchant has been used.

	σλδ	Verso.
§ 6, § 7	ὑμῖν κρειττων εντυχη. α[κουσαντες ταυτα οι Χαλ]	
	δαιοι εδεισαν τε και ἱκετ[εον παυσασθαι οργιζομε]	
	νον κ[αι] τα χρη[μα]τα απ[αντα αποδωσειν εφασαν]	
	ο δ ειπεν [ο]τι ουδεν αυτ[ων δεοιτο αλλ ει με εφη βου]	
5	λεσθε παυσασθαι αχθομε[νον αποδοτε παντα οσα ε]	
	λαβετε τοις διαφυλαξ[ασι την ακραν ην γαρ αισθων]	
	ται οι αλλοι στρατιωται οτι [πλεονεκτουσιν οι ευτα]	
§ 8	κτοι γενομενο[ι] παντ[α μοι καλως εξει οι μεν δη]	
	Χαλδαιοι ουτως εποιη[σαν ως εκελευσεν ο Κυρος]	
10	και ελαβον οι πειθομεν[οι πολλα και παντοια χρημα]	
	τα' ο δε Κυρος καταστρα[τοπεδευσας τους εαυτου οπου]	
	[εδοκ]ει επιτηδειοτατ[ον ειναι της πολεως μενειν επι]	
	[τοις οπλοις πα]ρηγγ[ειλε και αριστοποιεισθαι]	

¹ In the Rylands fragment the lines are packed rather more closely; but such variations are to be expected (cf. the Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, fasc. III, supplement, p. ix), especially in the second part of the codex. The fact that the lines in 549 tend to be slightly longer may be explained on the same grounds.

Recto.

- σλε
- § 12 [κας υπεσχομένην δε σοι ἀν]τι τούτων η μὴν παρ ἐ[κο]ν
 15 [των Λυδῶν ἐσεσθαι παν ο]περ καλον καγαθον ἐστίν
 § 13 [ἐν Σαρδεσιν ἣν γὰρ ταυ]τα ἀκού[σω]σιν οἱδ[ο] [ο]τι ἡ[ξ]εῖ
 [σοι παν ο τι ἐστίν ἐνθαδε] καλον κτημα ἀνδρι η γυναι
 [κι και ὁμοίως εἰς νεωτ]α πολλων και καλων παλιν
 [σοι πληρης η πολις <ἐσται> ἣν] δε διαρπασῆς και αἱ τεχν[αι]
 20 [σοι ας πηγας φασι των καλων] εἶναι διεφ[θα]ρμεναι [ε]
 § 14 [σονται ἐξεσται δε σοι ἰδο]ντι τα ἐλθοντα [ε]τι και περ[ι]
 [της ἀρπαγῆς βουλευσασθαι] πρωτον δ' ἐφη ἐ[πι] τους ε
 [μους θησαυρους πεμπε κ]αι παραλαμβάνε[τ]ωσαν οἱ
 [σοι φυλακες παρα των ἐμ]ων φυλακων ταυτα μιν
 25 [δη ἀπαντα οὕτω συνήνεσ]εν ο Κυρος ποι[ε]ιν [ὥσπερ]
 § 15 [ἐλεξεν ο Κροισος ταδε δε]μοι ἐφ[η] παντως ὥ Κροισε]

1. κρείσσω HAG.

2. τε om. DF.

3. All MSS. here read χρήματα πάντα, except DF which omit the πάντα. In the papyrus we can hardly read χρηματα ἀπ[ο]δοσειν, as that would result in a line of only 30 letters, whereas the average is 39. DF's omission of πάντα may have arisen more easily, if the MS. from which they descend read ἅπαντα.

12. τὸ ἐπιτηδεύτατον CAGH. εἶναι is omitted by CAEGH and ἐπὶ by HAG. As it stands, our text with 43 letters is rather long and the ἐπὶ may well have been omitted.

14. i.e. γυναι|κας.

15. ὅπερ: ὅ τι MSS.

16. ἥξουσιν CAGH.

17. η, so DF: καὶ other MSS.

19. The length of the line makes it practically certain that ἔσται was omitted, with HAG; by DF it is placed after πλήρης.

21. τα, so HAG: ταῦτα CE and DF.

23. θησαυρους om. DF. From the length of the gap it must have been present in our text.

παραλαμβάνεωσαν: this is the reading of all MSS., the earliest of which, H, is of the twelfth century, and it is interesting to find it supported by an early witness. Editors follow Dindorf in restoring παραλαμβάνοντων.

25. ἀπαντα CAEGH (corr.): πάντα H (pr.) and DF. συνήνεσεν ο Κυρος ποιεῖν, so DF: συνήνεσε ποιεῖν ὁ Κῦρος other MSS.

26. ἐφη παντως, so DF: πάντως ἔφη other MSS.

550. [DEMOSTHENES], Κατὰ Θεοκρίνου.

Acquired in 1920.

8.4 × 17 cm.

Second century.
PLATE 8.

This is the first time that this speech, mistakenly placed in the Demosthenic corpus, has appeared in the papyri. The attack on Demosthenes in §§ 42-4 leaves no doubt that he

was not the author and, according to the hypothesis of Libanius, many in antiquity attributed it to Dinarchus; that it should appear at this period in Egypt perhaps suggests that it had already usurped a place among Demosthenes' speeches.

The present fragment contains part of two columns written along the fibres in a good book-hand of the second century, and early rather than late in the century. The columns were narrow and contained (to judge from the amount of text missing between col. i and col. ii) 28 lines each. The end of a sentence is marked by a high point in l. 13 and the end of a clause by a low point in l. 17; a paragraphus was placed under the line at the end of a section. The lower margin measures 5 cm.: the height of the roll would have been c. 25 cm. The verso is blank.

Col. i.				[μ]ιζω καταψηφισας	
				20	[θα]ι υμας αυτου ει ταυ
					Col. ii.
					α[νδρες δικασται]
					ω[ς ουν και παρ αυτου]
					Θ[εοκρινου ομολο]
					[γειται]
				25	[c. 15 letters]
					[„]
					[„]
					[„]
					β[ουλομενοις ευορ]
				30	κε[ιν ου καλως εχει]
					τα[υτην απογιγνω]
					σκ[ειν την ενδειξιν]
					λα[βε μοι το ψηφισμα]
					ο ει[πε εν τοις φυλε]
				35	τα[ς Σκιρωνιδης]
					ελθ[ων γαρ ουτοσι]
					§ 18

20. The papyrus agrees with the majority of MSS. in reading ταυ[θ] (or ταυ[τα]) against the τοῦθ' of D.

21. This line is on a level with l. 5 in col. i.

35. With S and D, the papyrus omitted ψηφισμα after Σκιρωνιδης.

36. προσελθὼν codd. That the papyrus had this reading is highly unlikely, as not only would it make the previous line too long, but would also involve a false division.

551. LYCURGUS, Κατὰ Λεωκράτους.

Acquired in 1917. Oxyrhynchus.

5.4 × 7.3 cm.

Late second century.

PLATE 4.

This is the first fragment of the Κατὰ Λεωκράτους (the author's only extant oration) to appear among the papyri.¹ It is unfortunate that such an early witness to a none too sound text (cf. Blass's introduction to the Teubner ed.) should not include any of the more disputed passages; a new reading may be noticed in l. 3. The text is written along the fibres in a rather large, but delicate book-hand; lines and letters are well spaced and there is a slight slope to the right. It may be regarded as the precursor of the broad third-century sloping type as seen in P. Oxy. 23, and dated perhaps near the close of the second century.

. [δεηθεις του κη]
 δεστ[ου πριασθαι παρ αυτου] § 22
 τανδραπο[δα και την οικι]
 αν αποδιδ[οσθαι ταλαντου]
 και απ[ο τ]ουτ[ου προσετα]
 5 ξεν τοις τε χρη[σταις απο]
 δουναι τα οφειλ[ομενα]
 και τους ερανους [διενεγ]
 κειν το δε λοι[πον αυτω]
 αποδουναι [δ]ι[οικησας] § 23
 10 δε ταυτα παν[τα ο Αμυν]
 τα[s]

1. This line, with 22 letters, is longer than any other; that the text differed from that of the codd. is unlikely.

3. αποδοσθαι codd. Probably αποδιδ[οσθαι] not αποδιδ[οναι] should be supplied, although the latter suits the space slightly better, since, though ἀποδιδόναι is found in Attic with a middle sense, it is not so used by the orators.

9. It is a little doubtful whether [δ]ι[οικησας] should be read here: the last visible letter has a small hook to the right and resembles a γ rather than an ι.

¹ A fragment (P. Berol. 11748) of the lost Κατὰ Μενεσείχμου was published by W. Crönert in the *Nachrichten der Göttingen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1922, pp. 45-6.

INDICES¹

I. NEW THEOLOGICAL TEXTS (GREEK)

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 470. 8.
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¹ Where the line number is in square brackets, the word in question has been supplied.

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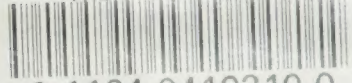
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